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THERE are many things that we do not understand about the present Congress, but the most puzzling is the mania for increased armaments. Judging the Senate by its actions, one would think that the country was on the verge of war. Why, for example, should the Senate, after voting the huge naval program in the Vinson bill, increase the appropriations made by the House for the Reserve Officers' Training Corps by $1,358,760 to finance the establishment of eighty-five additional junior-high-school military units at $7,000 per unit, and twenty-two additional senior-college military units at $33,000 per unit? It then went on to increase the Citizens' Military Training Camps appropriation by $1,700,000 for training 37,500 cadets next summer instead of the 14,000 contemplated by the House. The Army Appropriation bill, as passed by the House, appropriated for 1935 $69,000,000 less than the 1934 bill. The Senate restored no less than $63,826,858—another evidence of the way that Congress refuses to accept the President's economy program. Probably the matter will be settled in conference before this issue of *The Nation* reaches the public, but in any event the people ought to notify such men as Senator Copeland of New York and Senator Sheppard of Texas that they are absolutely opposed to the further building up of the American military machine with its inevitable tendency to thrust us into war.

SECRETARY WALLACE is bringing his solution of dairy problems before the milk producers themselves in a nation-wide series of lecture-meetings, but the farmers are hard to convince. As in previous applications of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Wallace plan is to pay a bonus for lessened production, to be compensated for by a processing tax on butter fat. A minimum of about $150,000,000 would be expended for benefit payments. The theory is a logical one within the limits of the agricultural rehabilitation program, but many farmers doubt that it would work. They instance the fallacy of overproduction on which it is based and declare that neither the consumer nor the distributor will stand the expense of the new taxation burden, but that it will simply revert to them. Since the entire milk set-up has been based on raising consumers' prices, thus cutting retail sales (and this is the nub of the whole problem), there is no reason for believing that the same sort of thing will not be continued. As was obvious in the milk-marketing agreements, it is not production control that is needed but distribution control and price-fixing. The way to get that, as more and more farmers are acknowledging, is by placing the whole dairy industry on a public-utility basis. There is certainly no reason that the farmers should continue to be penalized while the distributor goes merrily on his way reaping huge profits, and the consumer continues to get it in the neck.

THE MARCH on Washington on April 2 to demand continuance of civil-works relief met with both victory and defeat. The seventy-five delegates representing fifty-four groups and some 47,000 CWA workers and unemployed in Greater New York were determined to lay their demands before Administrator Hopkins in person. After some argument six spokesmen were admitted and given a fair and lengthy hearing. Their specific complaints of discrimination against Negroes and workers who engaged in organizing or refused to take the "pauper's oath" were met by a promise to investigate. To the delegates' three basic demands—for jobs on an unemployment rather than a "need" basis, abolition of the means test, and official indorsement of the Workers' Unemployment and Social Insurance bill—Mr. Hopkins replied categorically that he would not advocate them. His program involved work relief on a need basis and a means test acceptable to workers. The function of his office was to try to give relief in a decent way and it would not permit his advocating the three demands. That some delegates would be disappointed if he did, he indicated in no uncertain terms. The thrust was well deserved. While the six spokesmen in the main avoided irrelevant propaganda and fulfilled their mission of presenting grievances of unemployed and workers, there was a persistent effort in the delegates' meetings before and after the Hopkins hearing to prevent constructive action. There were some who blocked moves to better working conditions because they preferred to propagandize. They were overridden by a majority acceptance of a program of action: (1) to establish relief for laid-off CWA workers and fight for their reinstatement; (2) to organize workers into project locals so as to fight on the job;

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(3) to engage in day-to-day struggles in order to unite forces and strengthen organization; (4) to take up on the job every case of discrimination.

STATE POLITICAL MANAGERS are complaining because business men and others who formerly contributed to State campaign funds are no longer doing so. The 1934 campaign in Oklahoma, for example, is being delayed because both the major parties are handicapped by a lack of financial assistance. The political leaders blame the Roosevelt recovery program. They say that the NRA and other agencies have so far invaded the jurisdiction of the States in economic matters that business men now look almost exclusively to Washington for favors. Hence they believe it no longer necessary to support State political tickets with money gifts. This is a realistic but not especially new commentary on the purpose of campaign contributions. It is more revealing in that it indicates the remarkable extent to which the supervision and control of our economic affairs are being concentrated in the hands of the federal government. Naturally this development will also greatly strengthen the party that happens to be in power in Washington. That party, completely dominating the government machinery as it does, is in a position to extend favors of immense importance to business and other groups in return for political support. Thus, as the economic power of the government expands, the Administration's opportunities for keeping itself in office will grow. This is not to say that the Roosevelt Administration will abuse this enormous and increasing power, though the temptation to do so will be constantly before it.

A STIFF FIGHT will be necessary if the Copeland bill is to be passed at this session of Congress. The Food and Drug Administration lists twenty-six requirements with respect to which the measure, even in its weakened form, is superior to the present law. These are genuine gains, some of them important, as is evidenced by the continued opposition of powerful food, drug, and advertising interests, even though the bill has been accepted by *Printers' Ink* and C. C. Parlin's group of big-magazine publishers, the latter starved out by the prolonged suspension of pending advertising contracts. The immediate job is to force a vote in the Senate, including a vote on amendments restoring the deleted standards, formula-disclosure, and advertising clauses, especially the clause removing forty-two diseases from the field of medication by advertising. Members of the Senate Commerce Committee should be asked why that crucial clause was killed in committee. And Senator Johnson should be made to defend, if he can, Section 3-e, which permits citrus-fruit growers to color inferior fruit artificially. Readers of *The Nation* have asked whether we feel that the measure is worth passing. The answer is yes—provided the passage of this bill is regarded not as the end but as the beginning of the fight to protect the public against exploitation by food, drug, and cosmetics manufacturers and advertisers.

THANKS to the indiscretions of Senator W. T. Thayer of the New York Legislature, it looks as if some of Governor Lehman's bills for the better control of public utilities might be enacted into law. Any legislator who opposes them will be in the unenviable position of having to explain to his constituents how much he got and from whom. Of course it is no novelty to catch a "representative of the people" in cahoots with some business interest that is trying to hornswoggle the public, but each separate tally adds to the total score, and the evidence which the Federal Trade Commission has presented should do something to forward the movement for municipal ownership of gas and electric plants all over the country. Senator Thayer seems to have been a lackey for the Associated Gas and Electric Company, employed by it to swing elections and influence legislation. Such of the Solon's correspondence as has been made public does not indicate what he received directly as compensation but is replete with "expense accounts" (later charged by the company in its bills to you, dear reader) and bragging letters about his services. For years the legislative committees at Albany have been graveyards for measures intended to curb the rapacity of utility companies, and the fact that Mr. Thayer is a member—was until recently chairman—of the Senate Public Service Committee may be explanatory. In one letter he says that "many detrimental bills which were introduced we were able to kill in my committee." It is a commentary on contemporary civilization that although the insignificant Thayer has been bombarded with questions and is threatened with impeachment, nobody has said boo to the Associated Gas and Electric Company. That it should be engaged in bribery and bilking the public seems to be regarded as normal procedure. The harried Senator boasts that he will not join Insull and Ex-Mayor Walker in foreign travel, but if he does not it will be because he is able to hire slicker lawyers or excels the other two in the thickness of his epidermis.

THE DEFEAT, by strong-arm methods that would make a Tammany district leader blush for shame, of Kansas City's fusion ticket for Mayor and City Council, may turn into a boomerang for the Democratic machine controlled by "Big Tom" Pendergast. The vote was the largest on record in the city, a total of 222,000 voters out of 244,000 enrolled having actually cast ballots. Mayor Bryce B. Smith, the incumbent and the machine candidate, was reelected by 141,000 votes to 81,000 for his opponent, A. Ross Hill, former president of the University of Missouri. The fusionists thus rolled up a formidable vote, and the electioneering methods of the Pendergast forces should add considerably to their ranks. Four persons are dead as a result of gang methods of getting out the vote, and a number were slugged and beaten up. Ten youths were seized in a drugstore and were found to have in their possession seven boxes of ammunition, a sawed-off shotgun, an automatic pistol, revolvers, and three rifles. The fusion movement was started about two years ago by five young men only a few years out of college, but although the leaders are youthful, they have learned a great deal about machine electioneering, and perhaps, for a future election, how to combat it more successfully. Despite its defeat, the new party is not at all discouraged, but is determined to continue its fight for a more intelligent and a cleaner municipal government.

THE WILLARD STRAIGHT POST of the American Legion, for presuming to question the stand of the Legion on various questions and specifically for objecting to the Legion's demand for a bonus in 1932, lost its charter a while back and was at the same time scolded by the national

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organization for being unpatriotic, disloyal, and not playing cricket. Now the Supreme Court of New York State, in the person of Justice Albert Cohn, has decreed that the post be reinstated and its charter duly restored, on the grounds that to revoke it was an inhibition of the right of free speech and therefore contrary to law. The court decision was partly based on the fact that the Willard Straight Post was not given the right to defend itself or notified in advance of its expulsion; but more important, Justice Cohn declared, was the expulsion itself: "The American Legion's regulation, even if properly adopted and imposed, is an unreasonable one and its enforcement . . . transcends the powers granted to the American Legion by . . . Congress." We hereby congratulate the Willard Straighters and suggest that they use their restored standing as full-fledged legionnaires to discover exactly what these powers granted to the American Legion by Congress were and are. Do they include the imposition of a powerful lobby in Washington and the exercise of pressure on national and local legislators so that public funds can be grabbed at fairly regular intervals for the benefit of World War veterans whether they deserve such benefits or not? Now that the veterans' bill has been passed over the President's veto, hardy souls are suggesting that maybe the bonus could be put over too. The Willard Straight Post could do an excellent service not only by opposing such a movement but by discovering and making public just who instigates it.

THE LEFT-HANDED SETTLEMENT of the Detroit automobile dispute has been extended to cover the strike at the Budd body plant in Philadelphia, and the five months' controversy is officially over. As in the Detroit case, not only has the fundamental issue of labor-union recognition been evaded, and the company union been more firmly intrenched, but the dilly-dallying of the various NRA boards, which tossed the case about like a hot potato, has bred discontent and impatience among other workers, and the important Philadelphia industrial area is in something of a ferment. Senator Wagner's backstepping on his labor bill has added to the trouble. At the Campbell Soup Company plant in Camden, New Jersey, because the company twisted the minority-representation clause of the Recovery Act so as to suit its own purpose, recognizing its company union and refusing to recognize the Canners' Industrial Union, which claims 80 per cent membership, more than 1,000 workers walked out. They turned down the arbitration efforts of the regional labor board and a proposed union election, and also asked a return to the 1929 wage scale. The Campbell plant is owned by the Dorrance family, and the State of New Jersey is still trying to collect $16,500,000 in inheritance taxes on the $120,000,000 estate of the late John Dorrance. At the same time 3,000 workers at the New York Shipbuilding Company yards in Camden went on strike in the name of their small union, asking $32 for a thirty-two-hour week. Here too the conciliation attempts of the NRA were flatly refused, the strikers declaring that they had lost faith in its efficacy. Five thousand striking knit-goods workers in Philadelphia feel the same way, and there are several other important strikes in that area, all directly traceable to the mismanagement of the Weir and Budd cases. Perhaps the optimists who see labor's struggles achieving peace, if not victory, should be told there is not even peace.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK of New York announces that for the first half of March department-store sales in New York City rose 36.4 per cent over sales for the same period of 1933. This is supposed to be news of the first order and to be interpreted to mean that we have *turned the corner* at last. Unfortunately a rude rainbow-destroyer named A. W. Zelomek, economist for the International Statistical Bureau, has come forward with some other figures which make one doubt those of the Federal Reserve Bank. According to Mr. Zelomek, $319,000,000 was spent in February, 1934, in department stores, chain stores, specialty shops, and mail-order houses, an increase of 16.3 per cent over February a year ago. But during the year retail prices rose 28 per cent, which makes Mr. Zelomek figure that unit sales actually fell by approximately 11.7 per cent. It is, of course, difficult to establish with any conclusiveness whether customers actually bought fewer things at higher prices or the same number of things of a cheaper grade, which would bring unit sales up to their former level. But there is enough in Mr. Zelomek's calculations to give anyone pause, and the reassuring statistics of the Federal Reserve Bank may be further discounted by the recollection that the first fortnight of March, 1933, was the date of the unlamented bank moratorium; moreover, the department-store sales this year include liquor sales, money which formerly was passed on to various bootleggers. If liquor sales are deducted, this year's increase amounts to only 32.9 per cent. All things considered, we have not got to the corner yet.

THE ECONOMIC PLIGHT of Germany does not improve, despite all the cleverness of Dr. Schacht. He is now facing another meeting with Germany's foreign creditors, the Americans being represented by an especially strong delegation. He will find plenty of opposition to his plan to cut the debt to America in half on the ground that 50 per cent of it is a "political debt" and not a purely business one. Doubtless there will also be a further reduction of the interest to be paid to foreign creditors. But that will not help the prestige of Germany abroad or decrease the prevalent dislike and distrust of everything that Hitler stands for. Dr. Schacht has said that "whether Germany is regarded by the outside world with sympathy or antipathy is wholly immaterial in comparison with the fact that the abstention of 66,000,000 first-class consumers from the world's markets would spell disaster to world economy." But the threat that Germany will not buy any more if it does not get what it considers easier terms ought to scare nobody. Germany is not yet in a position where it can do without the markets of the world—far from it. Until it is, Dr. Schacht's threat is a mere gesture—a bluff. Any attempt to establish autarchy in Germany now would mean a great lowering of the standard of living, which Hitler cannot face at the present time. Moreover, some figures that have just appeared as to Russia's trade with Germany reveal a situation which no bluff by Schacht can alter. In 1931 the Soviets purchased $762,000,000 worth of goods from Germany; in 1932, $626,000,000 worth, and in 1933, $282,000,000 worth. That was bad enough, but according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Russia's trade with Germany has dwindled so that in this, the second year of Hitler, Russia's purchases will not exceed $50,000,000 worth of goods. That is a direct blow at Germany's vitals.

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Shifts on the Labor Front

"WE have charted a new course in social engineering," said the President apropos the settlement of the threatened automobile strike. He may reasonably be suspected here of seeking a fine phrase to conceal what was a sheer stroke of opportunism. Certainly industrial-relations boards are an old tale in the history of industrial relations. They already exist, for that matter, in several of the codes—cotton textiles, bituminous coal, trucking, construction, the graphic arts. However, since the expedient of today is the precedent of tomorrow, we may expect that such boards will shortly become the fashion throughout the codified industries.

Much more significant in the automobile settlement is its treatment of the basic question in dispute: Does Section 7-a of the National Industrial Recovery Act entitle an outside trade union alone to speak on behalf of the employees in collective bargaining? Or does it also sanction the company union, if the employer can successfully impose one on his hands? Like all other compromises, the settlement professes to maintain a fine neutrality on this issue. It implies that company unions and trade unions may coexist so long as each can round up groups among the employees. In other words, the settlement repeats what Messrs. Johnson and Richberg have persisted in saying about the rights of minorities—notwithstanding the recent National Labor Board ruling in the Denver tramway case—from the earliest days of the NRA.

Beyond this, however, the principles underlying the settlement do break new ground in the theory of industrial relations. Although the company union and the trade union may coexist in the same plant, neither will be authorized by virtue of majority rule to bargain collectively as the representative of all the employees. There will be no closed shop. Instead, a series of plant unions will be established under a regime of proportional representation. Each plant, that is, will have its own Works Council authorized to negotiate with the management on behalf of the wage-earners. Every union in the plant—outside or inside, craft or industrial, left-wing or right-wing—will be entitled to representation in proportion to its share of the total number of employees.

In spite of the danger to independent unionism implicit in the open shop, it is possible, though perhaps not probable, that this new set-up may actually chart a "new course," and one which the President and the conferees on both sides failed to foresee. A plant union need not be employer-dominated; not if the labor groups independent of the management succeed in filling the Works Council with their own representatives. In that event, there would seem to be at least a chance that genuine industrial unionism might develop in the automobile industry—despite the dubious parentage of the Works Council—a better chance, perhaps, than would have been provided by a victory of the United Automobile Workers. As a federal union the United Automobile Workers' Union has at present an industrial character; as an American Federation of Labor union, however, it is likely to be persuaded into craft patterns. Despite the need for an industrial structure to meet the demands of codified industry, the federation still clings to the old craft divisions as its basic form of organization. Under vigorous and militant leadership it should be possible for the automobile plant unions to federate; and if they succeed, industrial unionism—free from A. F. of L. restraints—may be established in the very heart of American business.

This hopeful prognosis may, of course, be upset by conflicting developments. Labor relations in the automobile industry, and in the other basic industries which are sure to follow in its footsteps, may be ruled by the practices traditional under the open shop. The employers will undoubtedly encourage company unions by all possible means; the workers will tend to drift out of the independent unions if they come to believe that equal advantages can be obtained without the obligations and expense of union membership. Independent unions can counter this tendency only by great tactical skill and militancy. And these qualities are rare in the ranks of organized labor—as they are elsewhere.

In any event, the National Labor Board is probably out of the picture as a determining factor in the Administration's labor policy. It not only suffered a tremendous loss in prestige when General Johnson lifted the automobile controversy out of its lap, but it saw its principles pass away in a puff of wind when the settlement was announced. The procedure of the National Labor Board, as of the regional boards, in any dispute over representation between company and trade unions has been to order a referendum to establish the basis for majority rule. Its most famous battles have been fought on the election issue. Indeed, the board had been authorized on February 1, by executive order of the President, to hold such elections whenever in its opinion a substantial number of employees wanted them. Perhaps the board forgot to remind the President, as he wrestled with the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce and the United Automobile Workers, that he had issued such an order only about six weeks before. Certainly, the final agreement, substituting for elections the comparison of union lists with pay rolls, was a repudiation of the procedure developed by the National Labor Board.

As for Senator Wagner's contemplated Labor Disputes Act, it will probably not survive the shock of the automobile settlement. The bill was intended if not to outlaw the company union at least to inhibit every practice by which employers breathe life into company unions and cause them to flourish. When the Administration implicitly recognized the company union, the foes of the bill—the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Iron and Steel Institute, the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce—advanced to the attack with redoubled vigor and venom. Senator Wagner, who, if he is a friend of labor, is also a staunch supporter of the President, began to back water and proposed amendments which would vitiate the original objectives of the bill. If these changes are actually introduced, the A. F. of L. will oppose the enactment of the bill, and for once the minds of Mr. Emery and Mr. Green will meet in distrust of the same measure.

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The automobile settlement has created a deep unsettlement in the whole field of labor relations and brought increased confusion of interests and efforts. Powerful forces are pressing toward conflicting solutions, and only the next months can show whether the President's compromise will result in a reactionary swing to the right or a new alignment on the left.

Demos in Distress

ACCORDING to prevailing opinion, the action of Congress in passing the Independent Offices Appropriation bill over the President's veto is the most serious blow dealt thus far to Mr. Roosevelt's prestige and leadership. In our own judgment, the blow which Mr. Roosevelt dealt himself in his settlement of the automobile dispute was much more severe, partly because it was self-inflicted—and thus morally as well as physically damaging—but also because it will have a more irremediable effect upon the President's future. The decision in the automobile dispute was an expression of the President's own labor policy. It marks a sharp turn to the right.

On the other hand, the President can and probably will retrieve to a large extent the leadership which he has temporarily lost in Congress. If he proceeds with his customary vigor, he may even succeed in making Congress look rather foolish, and that in the face of the elections impending in the autumn. Congressional leaders naturally take the hopeful attitude that the $228,000,000 added to the budget by their action can be produced by the flourish of a magic wand and that new taxes will not have to be imposed this year. We shall be sorry if the President is persuaded to accept this view. From the fiscal as well as the political standpoint, he ought to demand new taxes at once and let Congress wrestle with the problem while the reason for the necessity for such action is still fresh in the public memory. In other words, Mr. Roosevelt's strategy should be not only to let Congress stew in its own fat but to stoke the fire while the public is still standing by.

The worst aspect of the Congressional action is not the extra sum that has been added to the budget but the abandonment of a reasonably fair policy toward our war veterans in favor of a dishonest dole to a particular group because of its real or fancied power at the polls. *The Nation* has always advocated generous treatment for those who contracted disabilities or disease while doing military service, but there is no more justice in expenditures for war veterans as a class than for Seventh Day Adventists or six-day bicycle riders. At a time when the country is desperately put to it to feed the unemployed and ease the burden of farmers and others struggling under oppressive debts, Congress has voted a handout not to the needy but to a group represented by a politically powerful lobby. It is another indication of what all previous history has taught, that the men who in theory go out to defend their country return to loot it and put it under a financial vassalage more severe than any the alleged enemy would have been able to impose. The way in which legislators in democracies repeatedly knuckle under to strong minority groups of voters is one of the most discouraging features of the system. Advocates of communism or fascism could hardly have a better argument put in their mouths to prove one of the essential weaknesses of democratic government than that afforded by the action of Congress in giving in to the demands of the American Legion.

In comparison with the action in regard to war veterans the restoration of pay cuts to federal employees was of small consequence, although we believe it to have been unjustified. Federal employees have probably suffered less than any other considerable class during the depression years. With the exception of some ill-advised reductions in the departments last year, federal employees have not in general been laid off or put on part time. A temporary reduction of their pay by 15 per cent was trifling by comparison with the losses which most others sustained. For the country in general factory pay rolls in March, 1933, showed a shrinkage of 67 per cent from those of 1926, and in January of this year of 51 per cent. At the same time, the Congressional action in regard to federal employees could in some degree be described as restitution. It was not a plain case of robbing the public till in order to strengthen Congressional political fences, as was the action in regard to war veterans. Besides, the restoration of pay cuts to federal employees will not be a cumulative drain on the public purse as in the other case. It may even have a good effect, indirectly, in tending to turn the Administration away from its cheese-paring tactics in connection with the federal departments. Postmaster-General Farley, at least, needs to be reminded that charity begins at home, and that the best way in which he can help to bring recovery to the country in general is by establishing decent working and living conditions for postal employees.

Fascism in Africa?

AN unusual political situation has developed in the Union of South Africa, in which some observers see the beginnings of fascism. An alliance was made a year ago between the two chief parties—the Nationalists, or Dutch-speaking South Africans, and the South African Party, mainly English-speaking persons. The only substantial opposition left is a handful of irreconcilable Nationalists and one or two derelict Laborites. This means, in practical effect, a Cabinet dictatorship and the disappearance of any machinery for airing the grievances of minorities, such as the Jews, or of oppressed and unrepresented majorities, such as the non-whites—native, colored, Malay, Indian. The way is thus left open for some form of fascist government, a development which would be immediately popular with a large proportion of the white population. The non-whites would not be consulted; their number, in fact, explains why some sort of dictatorship with a military flavor would be generally welcomed.

Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Justice, an outspoken admirer of the Hitler regime, in a recent public speech put the matter with point and directness.

> Our national destiny as I see it [he said] is positively terrifying in its scope and responsibility. It is nothing less than that our country must be the rallying-point of white civilization throughout South Africa and, possibly, for the whole of the African continent. . . . As time goes on, our chances of outside assistance will decrease until we shall

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carry the whole responsibility and face the whole menace of between 100,000,000 and 200,000,000 people who, in essentials, will be as different from us then as they are today; and the necessity of special training to meet that emergency becomes obvious. . . . There are even people who see us as a last outpost of Western civilization, battling against impossible odds while Europe and America sink away into the twilight of their decline. Be that as it may, even the immediate problems will call for the stiffening of our national fiber by means of proper discipline for the individual and nation. That discipline, of course, must be instilled into the growing generation. Compulsory military training for a year or two would be the best way to achieve this result.

National fiber in South Africa means, of course, white fiber. The Minister's intention is crystal-clear, and he commands a large following in the country. He has already taken a step toward the attainment of his ideal by enrolling regiments of unemployed men in each province, who are to be fed and paid while they undergo a military training.

Psychologically, the ground has long been prepared for Hitlerism. The passionate belief in the sacredness of the purity of the Aryan race needs little propaganda in a country which makes cohabitation between white and black a penal offense and in which the Dutch Reformed church, the most influential in the country, lays down as a tenet that there shall be "no equality between black and white in church or state." The concomitant belief, that those who are not Aryans are of a fundamentally inferior order of humanity, has also been for long a national axiom, with results, perpetually occurring, that read like episodes from the "Brown Book."

A young farmer recently tied the hands and feet of his native farm hand and beat him for disobedience until he died screaming. Another fired on and killed a little native girl who was eating mealies (corn) on his land. He said in court that he meant only to "stop her running away," and received a suspended sentence. A native speaker at a Communist open-air meeting was subjected to a rain of orange peels, empty cigarette boxes, and eggs, and when that was not efficacious in stopping him, he was set upon by white onlookers, tripped up, and then severely kicked as he lay on the ground. A native who dared to ask his employer for two months' overdue wages was struck with a sjambok until he ran away, and was then pursued on horseback by his infuriated employer, who dragged him home by a riem, or untanned rein, fastened around his neck, the horse cantering all the way, then tied him by a chain to a cartwheel, and beat him at intervals till sundown, three times with the sjambok and twice with a leather belt. The employer was fined three pounds.

There is even, in the case of the "backveldt" Dutch, those of the more remote districts, a certain similarity between their Protestantism and that of the new Germany. In their belief it was the Boers whom God chose, not the Jews. They know also that He ordained that the black should serve the white, and that the Jews should suffer for their two-thousand-year-old mistake. They are adept at quoting His word, which says so. There seems to be some evidence also of the beginning of an anti-Semitic drive. Immigrant shopkeepers in the slum areas of the cities have received threatening letters decorated with swastikas, while persons using the public libraries are writing anti-Semitic sentiments in the books.

The Gentle Puritans

ONE hardly expects to find a defense of Puritan morality in the *American Spectator*, but the current issue contains one from the pen of Gustavus Myers, who studies the Fathers when he is not studying the capitalists. Discussing the vulgar belief that the early New Englanders either executed female adulterers or condemned them to wear scarlet A's, his conclusions seem to be summarizable as follows: (a) They didn't do it. (b) It was a good thing they did. (c) The Quakers were even worse.

Mr. Myers seems to have been moved in the first instance by the production of the opera "Merry Mount," which is based upon the assumption that the Puritans were led, via Freudian channels, to compensate for their sex repressions by indulgence in sadistic perversions. Mr. Myers lays the blame for this vulgar opinion on Nathaniel Hawthorne, who ought to have known better, and then proceeds to examine the record. In the first place, only the "sex morbidity of these, our own times" can be responsible for the effort to see in the Puritan procedure any pathological element, and there were good sound reasons for protecting by stringent laws those persons whose wives or husbands had remained in England. In the second place, punishment was much less common than is usually supposed. In the Massachusetts Bay Colony there is not a single record of the scarlet letter being imposed, although drunkards were compelled to wear a D and fornicators, either male or female, had "great letters" placed upon their hats. The scarlet letter found a place only in the *mores* of the Plymouth Colony, and the symbol was not A but AD. Moreover, there were only two cases where it was imposed. One of these was when Mary Mendame of Duxbarrow was convicted of misconduct with an Indian. The other was when, on December 7, 1641, Alice Linceford and Thomas Bray of Yarmouth received this mild sentence: "They shall both be severely whipped immediately at the public post, and they shall wear (whilst they remain in the government) two letters, viz., AD, for Adulterers, daily upon the outside of their uppermost garment, in a most eminent place thereof." If found without the letters they were to be "openly whipped at Yarmouth as often as the officials there requested." One other case doesn't really count because the letter imposed was not an A but a B.

As for the death penalty, it was ordered only twice in the Massachusetts Colony, the woman being let off in the first case and both the man and the woman being executed in the second. On the other hand, the allegedly gentle Quakers of Pennsylvania adopted, as late as 1700, an anti-adultery law which made the earlier Puritan statutes seem "the essence of mildness." For the first two offenses it imposed lashing and imprisonment; for the third, more lashing and imprisonment plus the branding of an A on the forehead.

Mr. Myers is an excellent scholar, but we must confess that he has only succeeded in reconciling us somewhat to the "sex morbidity of these, our own times." His argument reminds us too much of those who protest so violently whenever the Puritans are accused of burning witches. Of course they did no such thing. Those convicted of having made pacts with the devil were merely hung or pressed to death by a slow and easy process.

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Issues and Men

Western Melange

DAYS and days of travel. Unending miles through a country standing just as it was when in full career it was suddenly nipped by the chilling frost of economic depression. The star of empire not taking its way West—or anywhere else. Great cities admitting that their latest censuses show a decrease. Barren stretches of sagebrush and gray earth, seeming more forlorn than ever in their winter dulness. Small towns looking seedy and unkempt, with the usual disfiguring, abandoned automobiles carefully placed so as to meet the eye of the traveler first of all. Cities that were dependent upon the lumber trade, like those of Puget Sound, still in the slough of despond, waiting and waiting for somebody, anybody, to build a house again. Rich men owning valuable waterfront properties and fine office buildings reduced to insolvency, yes, to actual poverty.

Railroads sinking back a little after picking up; passenger traffic dull; ten passengers in all the sleepers of an eleven-car transcontinental train. Trucks, no end, delivering cattle to stockyards where they formerly came by train. No sign of any railroad enterprise or effort to rewin lost traffic except the much-exploited streamline train of the Union Pacific. Great excitement in a smoking compartment at the sight of a fifty-car freight train. Most of the talk about aviation. "That's the way we're going to travel in the future, sir. And the President hadn't ought to have taken those air-mail contracts away without giving those chaps a hearing, even if they *was* guilty." Dining-car conductor says he can't see any improvement anywhere. Believe it or not, when the train arrives at Pocatello, Idaho, he goes to the newsstand and buys a copy of *The Nation* for solace. Pocatello still shivering after two earthquakes that morning and wondering whether it can use any of its schools again until they are rebuilt.

Some cities hopelessly stupid about caring for their unemployed, one giving canned goods to the hungry when the nearby rivers were full of heads of lettuce, not quite good enough to ship East but good enough to eat; nearby fields full last summer of magnificent berries never picked and free to anyone who would take the trouble to gather them and cart them away. Public officials who say frankly, "This town could not have lived without federal aid, and we don't know what we will do if the CWA shuts down." Everywhere anxiety about the rebellious spirit of the CWA workers in the face of their threatened disbandment; everywhere worth-while CWA projects, especially in Omaha where the mayor is a trained civil engineer. Everywhere complete confidence that if the man in the White House has a little more time he will work it all out. If the President does not work it out? "Well, then, it kinda looks as if the times *would* be hard." Nowhere clear light as to whether such improvement as is reported is spontaneous recovery or wholly due to government money. No sign of a third-party movement; hardly any thought of such a thing. The people for the President; those newspapers supporting him wholeheartedly increasing their circulations to record-breaking heights; those knifing him and the NRA losing ground.

Everywhere greater interest in public affairs. Audiences that three years ago would not have received an editor of *The Nation* applaud this one enthusiastically when he praises the New Deal—even with limitations to the praise. Youth catching fire; spontaneous youth movements in Seattle and Kansas City; oldest man in the Seattle movement twenty-six years old. Students thronging to lectures on public questions, eager to know which way the country is headed, whether there is any prospect of jobs for them, of usefulness. Not going to be patient always, but marvelously philosophic now.

Newspapermen and editors eager for reports of what you have seen; many in revolt against the insincerity of the support of NRA and F. D. R. by the proprietors they serve. "Could you spare time to talk over our situation? We've got control of a liberal paper in a cesspool of corruption. What can a liberal daily do now?" Reporters grinning with joy when their reactionary employers are flayed in public: "Thank you, sir. Thanks a lot. That sounds good to us." Governors of beet-sugar States meeting among Mormon saints (Senator Smoot variety) to fight the battle for beet-sugar producers; worst tariff graft in America; governors are apparently hired men doing the producers' bidding; the industry can't stand on its feet; run by Mexican laborers, underpaid and under age, objects of charity in winter; Denver *Post* worst paper in the West, maligning Senator Costigan for fighting for the United States with F. D. R. instead of for the beet-sugar monopolies.

Everywhere big business girding for battle. "Three cheers for General Motors. That's the way to talk. We'll tell them where to get off. Labor isn't going to run this country—not by a long shot. Sure, we signed the code but our fingers were crossed. We aren't going to Washington to get our orders and we aren't going to submit our case to any labor board packed by our enemies. Neither the President nor General Johnson is going to get away with it." Factories shutting down—what a surprise—whenever men begin to organize or submit demands. Labor beginning to realize that it never had such a chance, but that it's got to fight to get what the government says that it has.

Marvelous weather; no rain in Oregon; no snow in Washington; best winter in history; "Now, California, you can't beat our sun!" Cattlemen worried for fear of a drought; seventy-five degrees in Portland on the eleventh of March. Mount Rainier rising in glorious majesty, wondering what it's all about, why the ants at its base scurry hither and yon, so excited, so distraught. The United States from a car window, year of our Lord 1934, in the reign of F. D. R. year the second!

Oswald Garrison Villard

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Labor Faces the Company Union

By KARL LORE

COMPANY unionism, always dangerous to the American labor movement, has been brought sharply forward as a major issue by the events of the past few weeks. The agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the chiefs of the automobile industry in regard to organization policies has had the effect of legalizing the company union and has done more to weaken labor's fight against these employers than anything else that has happened since the passage of the Recovery Act. The compromise has certainly not settled the issue in the automobile plants. Sooner or later labor will have to rally its forces again and fight or be crushed. In the steel mills the establishment of company unions by the employer-dominated elections of the United States Steel Corporation has brought the workers, already enraged at the Weirton betrayal, to the boiling-point. At the same time the owners of industry are marshaling all their forces to defeat the Wagner bill, although it places all power in the hands of a Labor Board on which labor has only two of seven places, and even opens the door to a much more extensive use of company unionism.

How much effect the Wagner bill would have, if passed, is doubtful. The appointment of Arthur Young, former head of the Industrial Relations Counselors and one of the slickest "industrial welfare" experts in the country, as vice-president of the Steel Corporation in charge of industrial relations signifies war to the death against outside unionism. The recent statement of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, company union of the great lumber firms, that its members will receive preference in employment, promotion, and retention on the job is another indication of industry's determination to beat down bona fide organization by hook or crook. It is no exaggeration to say that the fate of American labor will depend in large measure upon the outcome of the struggle between the free and the company union.

The extent of the recent development of the company-union plan is reflected in a study by the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' statistical organization, which reports that such "employee representation" plans have increased 180 per cent since the enactment of the National Recovery Act, while the number of trade-union agreements has risen only 75 per cent. It further reports that of 3,314 companies employing 2,585,000 workers, 45 per cent have company unions, while only 9.5 per cent recognize legitimate organizations. And even though the Industrial Conference Board left out of its compilation such strongly unionized industries as railroads and the printing, building, and clothing trades, it records a widespread crystallization in the unorganized industries which goes a long way toward explaining the comparative lack of success that the unions have had there.

Company unions, organizations built by the initiative of the employer in order to channel away the discontent of his employees and to neutralize their desire for real labor organization, first came into extensive use after the war. By 1926 432 companies with 1,400,000 workers had installed such systems. The trade-union movement became alarmed. In his study of the problem Robert W. Dunn points out:

> The great Passaic strike of 1926 was essentially a strike against the company union. The organization of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was primarily a defensive action against the company union of the Pullman Company. The most important issue before the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1926 was the company union. For the first time in its history the federation voted to assess its constituent unions for funds to carry on the battle against this major menace to the trade-union movement.

With the coming of the depression the company-union movement waned. The lines at the employment offices gave industry a whiphand over workers too stunned by the suddenness of the crash to think of fighting. Besides, properly functioning representation plans are expensive affairs. Banquets for the representatives to keep them in the right frame of mind, company-subsidized sports and social activities were vexing charges to executives trying to make every penny count. One of the large independent steel companies in eastern Ohio held no election of employee representatives from early in 1930 until late in 1933, when outside unionism began to make inroads, although the constitution of the plan orders annual elections. The company estimated that it would cost $10,000 to run the election properly and was unwilling to pay it to keep up the fiction of workers' rights.

Now, however, company unionism has again become a trump card in the hands of industry, and industry is playing it with all the shrewdness and skill at its command. Lammot du Pont's explanation of the employee-representation plan of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company is typical:

> This plan [he stated recently] gives the employees the advantages of a union in that they are given the opportunity to meet with the management through their representatives and discuss matters of mutual interest. The plan is in no sense a labor union. It is designed to prevent strife, compulsion, and selfishness on the part of either employer or employee. . . . No dues are required and no expense to the employee is involved.

Eugene Grace of Bethlehem Steel, arguing in favor of the plan used by his company, says that of the 5,918 cases brought up during the fifteen years of its existence, 3,932 have been decided in favor of the employees, while the remainder were either negative, withdrawn, or compromised. In practice, however, this has meant that the company has been willing to concede the many small cases which arose, while it has either refused to discuss or vetoed demands which had a significant influence on wages or working conditions in the few instances in which representatives were undiplomatic enough to bring up such unpleasant questions. By a significant coincidence the company unions in the packing houses of Swift, Wilson, and Armour announced that they had won a 10 per cent wage increase just when things were getting uncomfortable for the meat monarchs. "Officials of the company hoped that the pay increase would end strike talk," confessed the labor-hating Chicago *Tribune*.

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The all too justifiable charges of corruption and racketeering in the American labor movement, the stories of gangsterism and the crushing of democratic rights in the organizations of labor, have given industry another powerful weapon in its fight against unionism, a weapon it has used to the utmost in persuading thousands of workers to accept the soft soap of company unionism.

In many cases it has not been easy to put over these plans. In a good many others the revolt of the workers has completely smashed the attempt. Labor, given half a chance, wants real organization. The National Labor Board has announced that bona fide unions have won 70 per cent of the 142 elections it has supervised. Philadelphia's bitterly fought taxicab strike broke out when the employers tried to foist a company union on the drivers. Other important strikes—that against the Budd Company in Philadelphia, the Weirton Steel fight in West Virginia, and the "captive mine" struggles in western Pennsylvania—had the same cause. Company-supervised elections held in the power houses and offices of the New York Edison system showed great sentiment against the company union—set up at an expense of $100,000 according to the independent Brotherhood of Utility Workers—even though the men had to sign their names to the ballots. Andy Mellon's ungrateful employees in the Aluminum Company of America turned down the company union. Workers of the West Virginia Pulp and Paper Company ousted the plan used in the company's large Covington, Virginia, mill, while in Carnegie, Pennsylvania, employees of Superior Steel registered a vote of 973 to 81 for genuine unionism.

On the railroads the company unions have been more successfully eliminated than in any other industry. Helped by a ruling of Joseph B. Eastman, Federal Coordinator, that company unionism on the railroads is contrary to the provisions of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, smashing victories have been won by shopmen on many roads and by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks on half a dozen company-union roads. The Railway Carmen have been organizing new locals on company-union roads at the rate of one a day ever since July, 1933. Even here, however, the issue is not yet settled. *Labor,* the organ of the railroad labor organizations, asserts that the Pennsylvania Railroad is taking steps in its Altoona shops—the largest rail repair shop in the world—to adjust itself to the new situation. *Labor* says:

> An investigation shows that the company, working under cover, of course, is merely changing a little the outward appearance of its company union. In an attempt to disguise it, a new name will be adopted. The constitution and by-laws will no longer openly bear the approving signature of company officials. The railroad books will not show that it is bearing the entire expense of the company union and paying the salary of the general chairman.
>
> But it will be the same old fake organization that has functioned for the bosses all these years. The same hand-picked "general chairman" and "committeemen" who have served as stage dressing for the company union are the ones who now ostensibly are the promoters of the "new" organization. The same coercive tactics by which the old organization was founded and maintained are now being used to herd employees into the 1934 model. To give the new organization the appearance of being a voluntary one an attempt is being made to bludgeon employees into paying monthly dues.

The Pullman Company has not seen the error of its ways either, according to the Sleeping Car Porters' Union, which claims that the company is discharging porters and maids who join the labor organization in opposition to the company union.

In many cases labor has been able to convert the company unions into boomerangs for the boss. An amusing case of this sort arose when the Lake Carriers' Association—largely controlled by the steel trust and the dominating factor in shipping on the Great Lakes—tried recently to put over a representation plan on its workers. The delegates were elected under company auspices and were paid $5 a day by the company in addition to railroad fare and expenses of $10 a day. To make matters doubly safe, a number of men were carefully coached in advance on how to run the affair. To no avail. The assembled delegates voted drastic demands with respect to wages, hours, and working conditions. George Marr, vice-president and secretary of the L. C. A., was even refused the floor at the session of the Marine Firemen and Oilers. Worst of all, it was resolved that "if the executive committee shall be unable to come to terms with the Lake Carriers' Association, it is hereby instructed to turn its authority over to the officials of the International Seamen's Union [A. F. of L.]." This game can be played both ways, of course. The chairman and secretary of a textile workers' local in eastern Pennsylvania are company officials.

The outcome of the struggle for free unionism rests very largely in the hands of the trade-union movement itself. To a considerable extent organized labor in America has played into the hands of the boss. By soft-pedaling the fighting character of its organizations it has made regular unionism indistinguishable from the company plans which talk about "cooperation, mutual interest, and recognition that industrial success means the success of both employer and employee." This conception has so poisoned the labor movement that an official representative of the A. F. of L. Union of Retail Clerks could consider it quite consistent with the principles of unionism to make an agreement with a professional organizer authorizing him to form company unions in the chain stores. *Labor Action,* the organ of the American Workers' Party, voiced the attitude of radical unionists with respect to this incident:

> Crazy as this sounds, it is after all a natural development of certain tendencies in the A. F. of L. Its leaders from William Green down have talked long and hard about the common interests of employers and employees, of unions cooperating with employers, of peace in industry. Talking against company unions, they have tended to develop unions that functioned about as company unions would. This idea is the class-collaboration idea carried to its legitimate, albeit absurd, conclusion.

Labor organizations charge high dues. In company unions "all costs are born by the management." Labor still clings to the old craft unions in spite of the evident desire of the workers for the industrial form of organization. Company unions are industrially constructed. The officers of the armies of labor have no faith in one another and the ranks are divided by jealousies, jurisdictional disputes, and the game of old party politics. Industry commands a closely knit, well-coordinated machinery of war. Officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers

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found that the employee-representation plans of more than a hundred steel plants were practically identical in wording and that many of them were exactly alike in printing and binding.

American workers have shown their desire for organization in unmistakable terms. Flocking into the unions, many of them have experienced for the first time the meaning of labor solidarity. Some joined with lingering fears. Only a person who has worked in a great basic industry knows how the inglorious record of craft unionism has permeated the mass of the workers. Now, in the surge and sweep of a great labor revival, thousands are signing up. They have fought hard and willingly, these new recruits, and they will continue to do so if they find in the labor movement what they wanted when they first made out their application cards. If the labor unions want to hold the allegiance of these new forces and gain that of the millions of the unorganized, they must undertake seriously the job of making themselves clean, militant instruments, based on the industrial form of organization, for fighting the battles of the workers. Failure to do this means inevitably the strengthening of the company-union forces and the growth of the fascist conception of "coordinated" labor which company unionism exemplifies.

Why the Housing Program Failed

By ALBERT MAYER

LET no one question the accuracy of this title. The housing program is dead, and will stay dead until it is revived on an entirely different basis. Consider the statistics as an index of failure. The Housing Division of the Public Works Administration was organized in July, 1933. Since that time it has actually granted a net amount of about $25,000,000 for some thirteen projects, after rescinding for various specific reasons additional preliminary allocations. Even if the remainder of the whole available sum of $150,000,000 finally filters into construction, it will have dribbled out over so long a time that its significance will be lost.

I wish I could say I was clever enough to foresee failure from the start, as some of my friends did. Though I did not feel by any means that the housing millennium had come when provision for some housing was included in the Public Works Relief Act, I did hope that enough well-conceived projects would be built promptly in various sections of the country to serve as guides and stimuli for a real program. I am now convinced, in spite of the periodic announcements of $100,000,000 corporations and other fanfare, that not even this can happen under the present set-up.

Why this dire failure? Let me say at the outset that I do not consider it a question of personnel. I think the direction of the Housing Division is in the hands of as good men as could be found. The cause of failure is far deeper than that. The cause of failure was inherent in the very terms on which housing was included in the government's program. It was allowed in the Public Works Act as a minor instrument of recovery, not quite on a par with post offices and sewage-disposal plants. Housing got in by the back door; the people who count in Washington never thought of it as a burning social issue, as the only means for rescuing our decaying cities, as a major instrument in the New Deal. If it had been considered, as it should have been, on a par with farm relief, with the NRA, if it had had behind it the determined pressure of the Administration, it would have advanced irresistibly. But since it was held to be only one of many means for meeting the unemployment emergency, and since it is inherently too complicated and difficult an undertaking to be an instrument of emergency employment, the people who count got disgusted with it, thought it wasn't worth battling for against the opposition of the vested interests. As a result, housing policies were arbitrarily changed from time to time, practically nothing was accomplished, and the whole housing movement is in danger of being discredited. A symptom of this is that the big funds, which should have been devoted to a coordinated program of housing and city replanning, are now being announced for use chiefly in home renovation! This is defensible as a sort of CWA-hurry-up method for spending money in construction, but it must not be allowed to become the beginning of a resuscitation of speculative building enterprise, carried on by the old gang and with the methods and outlook of the building and loan associations.

Who really cares about housing? The most interested are a few architects and city planners who have spent their lives at it and really understand it, but who have never acquired the technique of popularizing it. The social workers care about it passionately but do not understand it, and their insistence on slum clearance, the least important and least feasible part of a comprehensive housing program, has hindered the development of a real program. They have even made slum clearance itself more difficult by encouraging the owners of slum property. There is no other support for housing beyond the lip service of public officials and public speakers. The slum dwellers themselves, the victims of our shocking housing, make no demands. How could they? They don't know what good housing is, for they have not traveled in Germany and Holland and England. If their wages are cut or they are unemployed, they are aroused because they have no food or no clothes or because their furniture is removed, but they never have had decent housing—so how can they miss it?

Let us examine the effect of this indifference on the activities of the Housing Division. Robert D. Kohn, the director, originally laid down his own excellent terms. Speculative land values were to be ignored, and realistic land values, based on the use of land for low-rental purposes, were to be the only criterion of value. Sensible provision for population densities was to control, and if the owners of slum property would not meet the needs of the situation they were to be ignored until they did. The essence of the program was to provide decent houses for people and to rehabilitate our cities socially and financially. The terms were accepted, but the authorities certainly did not understand the implications and

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did not particularly care. So little was the problem understood that the Housing Director was never able to get anything like a sufficient personnel either to carry on the routine of his office adequately or to do the necessary educational work in the country, and his policies were never backed up. Nothing happened. The social workers became aroused and clamored for slum clearance. In this they were vociferously supported by organizations of slum-property owners. As a result of the clamor the director was suddenly forced to accept slum clearance as his objective.

I have often thought the director of the Housing Division should have resigned as a protest against understaffing, against arbitrary, silly changes in policy, and against a state of affairs in which nobody takes the time to see what it is all about. But on reflection I feel that such a gesture would have accomplished nothing. As his superiors do not understand the issues involved, it would have been interpreted purely as an expression of personal discontent and disappointment, and someone inferior to him would have been appointed, quite as a matter of routine.

No, we have to start again. We have to convince people generally, and the important figures in the national Administration and in the municipal administrations in particular, that a good housing program is a major instrument in our social and economic salvation. We have to educate our social workers to understand that slums are only symptoms, and that in their indiscriminate and passionate demand for slum clearance they are just as ill-advised as a doctor who would treat symptoms instead of causes; that their obdurate insistence on immediate samples of slum clearance makes real slum clearance impossible. We have to show them that rehousing must precede slum clearance, that slum prevention is the vital thing; we have to show them that decentralization of our city populations and the persistence and growth of slums are only aspects of the same essential disease and decay, and that European cities which have been clearing slums for fifty years are farther behind than ever because new slums have developed faster than old slums could be cleared. We have to show our city officials that cutting pay rolls and throwing out superfluous officials are only superficial, relatively negligible methods of restoring city finances; that the really effective way is to rehouse and replan our cities. Thus remade into healthy organisms, they would not, as happens today, lose population year after year to essentially unattractive suburbs, desirable only as compared with our impossible cities and themselves already showing signs of decay with accompanying slums. City officials and others have got to understand that this is not a question of real estate but of people, and that people are refusing to remain in cities where living is conditioned by existing conceptions of real-estate values and speculative methods of development. Investors or speculators or mortgagees have made a wrong guess on real-estate values, just as we all did on stock values. There is nothing sacred about real estate. Unless we take a realistic view of it and act accordingly, the real values in our urban areas will decline still farther as people continue to move away—they were doing it for twenty years before the depression—and as industries move out after them. It is not a question of trying to bolster up obsolete values and an obsolete city pattern; it is a question of recognizing what has happened and trying to salvage what is left before it is too late to salvage anything.

That is what the housing question really involves, that is the real significance of the slum problem, and that is what we are hoping to achieve by a minor provision in the unemployment-relief act. Those are the premises on which we have got to start to educate the country. Whether or not we get a few more projects out of our present housing program, the important thing is to realize that it will not and cannot get us anywhere. We must have the courage to admit that the idea of bringing housing in at the back door was a ghastly mistake and to push forward afresh with a broadside attack on the whole question and its ramifications. The objection may be made that this will take too much time, that we want immediate results. The answer is that eight months have already been lost, and that much more time will be lost, during which the housing movement will become completely discredited, unless we proceed at once to reorient and revivify the whole movement.

Before indicating what we must now set out to accomplish, I would make a suggestion as to our attitude toward what remains of the present program. I have in various publications outlined in some detail how official bodies should use the small sums now contemplated so as to point the way to sensible and effective future procedure. My purpose in making such suggestions was to provide a criterion by which to measure the character of proposals and the execution of projects, and to provide a workable program that could be carried out at once, as contrasted with the hysterical pleas to build anything, anywhere, in any slum, so as not to lose the heaven-sent opportunity to get federal funds for housing. We must concern ourselves with the present program sufficiently to make sure that serious injury is not done to the housing movement of the future by mistakes made now. For it would be too ironical if the present meager program, which has so negligible a possibility for positive good, were to acquire a totally disproportionate ability to hamper or delay the start of real housing, or were to supply arguments to those who want to borrow funds to proceed with subdivisions and speculative building in the old haphazard way. This is particularly important because of the rapid formation of housing authorities, which, new to the job and generally with no technical training, are harassed by the clamor of neighborhood associations, social workers, real-estate interests, and various political groups, and which, under this pressure, will no doubt recommend some pretty sad schemes to Washington.

We must resist doing the kind of housing which is only mildly better than what we would replace just for the sake of putting it through with less opposition; we should oppose renovation schemes generally and new housing with too low minimum standards. Such housing is considered by its promoters as only a temporary immediate step, but experience teaches us that these temporary small steps become intrenched as our new standards for many years, that is, until the next reform wave has had time to develop. The mildly better form of project always accepts the existing physical pattern of streets, the existing lack of open spaces, and the inadequate community environment, contenting itself with snatching what it can and rebuilding houses here and there. It thus puts real money into these dead patterns and retards the important work of replanning communities in a saner way.

[*A second article by Mr. Mayer containing plans for remedying the situation here described will appear next week.*]

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The Humiliation of India

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Allahabad, India, February 10

THE Indian people have been stirred as seldom before by the tragedy of the earthquake in Behar and Nepal. For the relief of the sufferers from the earthquake the poorest, in spite of their dire poverty, and the lower middle class, which has suffered so much from the trade depression and unemployment, have given generously, perhaps more generously than the rich and the well-to-do. We have stood up bravely to face the unthinking cruelty of nature and have tried to fight it and lessen its tragic effects.

Nature is often pitiless and cruel. We feel helpless and bow to it, or we combat it and try to control it, according to our temperaments and the measure of strength and will within us. But there are other earthquakes which are not caused by unthinking nature but by thinking man. Human masses, when their lot becomes unbearable, rise up and smash the order that enslaves them. And there are political earthquakes when a government, fearful for its existence, loses all self-control, all sense of perspective, all dignity, and begins to behave as a mob that has no clear purpose except that of destruction and the desire to revenge itself on its adversaries. Fifteen years ago we saw such an eruption on the part of the government in the Punjab, and the world remembers Jallianwala Bagh and the crawling order and the many other ferocious accompaniments of martial law. Soon followed the era of the Black and Tans in Ireland, with its blood lust and reprisals. And now in parts of Bengal we see the Government in India again excelling itself in this manner. Chittagong and Midnapore, like Amritsar, have become black symbols of the working of imperialism and of the attempt to humilitate a great nation.

Do most of us realize, I sometimes wonder, the significance of what is happening in Midnapore and Chittagong? Or have our feelings been dulled and our sensibilities coarsened by the long and advancing tide of repression? The Great War with its bath of blood and its vast destruction of human life produced this result on the peoples of Europe. And it seems that some such process is at work in India today both among the rulers and the ruled. How else are we to explain these amazing occurrences in Bengal and the reactions of our people to them?

It is a strange record, worthy of preservation for an incredulous posterity. Because of the acts of certain individuals large military forces are brought from distant places; they occupy territories in a way no alien army occupies the enemy's land in war time. They treat almost the whole population as suspect and force even young boys and girls to go about with cards of identity of various hues with photographs attached. They limit the movements of the inhabitants and even lay down the dress that must be worn. They turn out people from their houses at a few hours' notice. They close schools and treat the children *en bloc* as enemy persons. Under various pains and penalties they force the people to welcome them publicly, and to salute the flag which has become the sign of humiliation to them. Those that disobey have to suffer heavily and to face reprisals.

Not satisfied with all this, the government interned for a week the whole of the youthful Hindu population of Chittagong. Trains and steamers and motor traffic were made to stop functioning for a period; law courts were closed for two days; and Chittagong was converted into a beleaguered city or a vast prison. The week passed by, and then for a large number of people the period of internment was extended to a month. Surely these wholesale orders affecting the entire population can only be matched in the annals of the Inquisition, when William of Orange stood up as the champion of his people's freedom and Alba invoked the Inquisition to pass sentence on a whole country.

All this has taken place, and yet the press hardly dares to speak above a whisper lest laws and ordinances encompass its ruin. If the press is largely a silent witness of these happenings, not so the high officials who wield for a day the wand of power. Often enough we have admonitions and threats from them of a still more terrible future, of the new weapons that are continually being forged to suppress a hapless population. One of the most notable performances of this kind was the recent speech of the Commissioner of Midnapore, who unburdened himself at length and gave us a glimpse of his and his government's mind. He told us more of the way despotic governments function than all the professors and textbooks could have done. I ventured to suggest in Calcutta that this speech of the commissioner's should be widely distributed in pamphlet form so that people might know to what depths of vulgarity and bluster even a seemingly powerful government can sink when it has lost all moral hold on the people it governs.

But all this has not been enough. Now we are told of new laws extending the penalty of death for certain offenses under the Indian Arms Act (apparently for carrying arms without a license), and still further muzzling the press, so that Indian papers cannot publish anything which has not the approval of the local government. There must be no expression of undue concern or sympathy for prisoners in detention camps or for convicts in the Andaman Islands. We may not show that it matters to us whether they live or die, whether they are ill or well, whether they are treated decently or inhumanly. They have been hunted down and cast out of the human pale, and human considerations must not apply to such castaways.

We have been long used to the proscription of certain books. But that was not enough. In future not merely individual books but whole "classes of literature," specified by the government, are to be proscribed. Why take the trouble to read and judge a book when it is easier to condemn whole groups and classes of literature? The next step presumably will be to attack the root of the problem by declaring that all reading of books and newspapers, except those produced through government agencies, is illegal.

Determined to improve the morals of our youths, the government wants to arm its district magistrates with still wider powers to control and restrict the movements of young persons, even though such persons have done nothing to bring

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them in touch with the wide-flung net of the laws and ordinances. So the district magistrate must be empowered to take action as soon as he suspects that someone may be keeping bad company. Here the government has to face a difficult problem. To send them to jail or to intern them is the obvious way to treat those who are suspected. But they become worse in jail through their association with other undesirables, and to let them loose on society when they come out of prison would obviously be a risky business. Therefore the safest place for them is the prison or the detention camp; at any rate their movements should be severely restricted.

Breaches of various orders apparently continue even though the penalty is two years' imprisonment. What can a government do except to increase the penalty? And so the proposed legislation increases the two years to seven years. Finally, the temporary repressive laws which were due to expire in 1935 are to be made permanent. This will no doubt be some consolation to those who grumble about the delay in the coming of the "reforms." They will realize that the reforms are coming, if they have not already arrived.

There seems to be just one lacuna in these schemes of reform. It is possible that some people may be left out in spite of all the careful thought that has been given to the framing of the existing and the proposed legislation. Instead of a variety of laws and ordinances and orders and rules, it would be simpler to have one comprehensive enactment laying down that every Indian must consider himself in prison (C class); that all schools and colleges are abolished, all newspapers and books suppressed; that every morning we must all salute the Union Jack; that there must be divine service twice a day consisting of the singing of the British national anthem; and that the afternoons may be profitably devoted to listening to an inspiring address on the virtues of British rule. This arrangement would have much to commend it. In these days of world-wide depression and unbalanced budgets much money would be saved by the stoppage of educational and other services and by the employment of labor by the government without pay. Many offices could also be combined in single individuals. Thus the district magistrate could also become the prison superintendent for the whole district.

Are we drifting to this? And is it not a mockery for us to talk of constitutions and all-parties conferences and reforms and elections and the like when this grim tragedy faces us?

Europe Moves Toward War

V. The Mechanics of Nationalism

By JOHANNES STEEL

IF war were to break out today in Europe, it would not come as a surprise to anyone. This fact is of the most profound importance. It illustrates the interest in preparedness for war of the peoples of Europe as well as the war psychology now prevalent among them. Any war in Europe today would be simply the armed expression of the silent and bitter economic war that has been going on for the last ten years. This war has manifested itself in tariff barriers, inflated currencies, government subsidies to national industries and commerce. It has been waged with the same savagery and ruthlessness as the World War, and it has accomplished as little.

One glance at the map of Europe will show us immediately the discrepancy between the national borders and the economic constitution of all nations of the Continent. The makers of the treaties of St. Germain, the Trianon, and Versailles were simply not concerned with the economic potentialities of the countries involved. This is true of all the arbitrary political settlements in post-war Europe. The politicians and statesmen responsible for these settlements were still thinking in terms of national politics. The result is Europe as we find it today, a disjointed and helpless mechanism against which most of the nations are in open revolt. In short, the political machinery and national boundaries in Europe have no relation to the organic economic potentialities and basic necessities of the European continent. The most tragic and striking example of this discrepancy is Austria. Seventy-five per cent of Austrian export trade goes to the succession states which were formerly Austrian but which today have no influence whatsoever upon the political fate of Austria. That fate is determined by Italy, Germany, and to a lesser extent France, nations which cannot help Austria economically. Italy and Germany have a preponderating influence because they have strongly nationalist and anti-social governments. Dictatorships have never been able to consolidate themselves without embarking upon spectacular foreign political adventures, and it appears that the oldest lesson that history teaches us is about to be forcibly brought home to the peoples of Europe—namely, that a dictator must make war. This was true of Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Cromwell, Napoleon, and Gustav Adolf of Sweden, and will also be true of Mussolini and Hitler.

Just as Mussolini in order to remain popular has to "add continuously to the glory of Rome"—which he is doing by means to which I shall refer later in this article—Hitler can only consolidate his dictatorship by pursuing an aggressive foreign policy, which, according to the Minister for Propaganda, leads toward a Teutonic empire embracing all the German-speaking peoples of Europe. Today Hitler is facing a serious dilemma. The economic position of Germany generally and of the individual German has grown markedly worse during the past twelve months; it will soon become imperative for Hitler to divert the masses, who are certainly growing restive under the serious economic conditions brought on by the Nazi regime. The only way to distract attention from political and economic developments within Germany is to embark on foreign political adventures bringing "conquest and glory." Hence the violent efforts to

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make Austria a Nazi state, hence the Nazi agents provocateurs stirring into revolt the German minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, hence the Nazi riots which took place this week in Esthonia and Latvia, hence the increased propaganda in Denmark, Holland, and the Saar. Soon the caldron will boil. And while Hitler is active in one direction, Mussolini is ostentatiously "consolidating Italy's domination of Austria," and sending General Garibaldi on a "good-will tour" through Arabia and the Near Eastern possessions of France. The Italian press hails Garibaldi as the "Italian Lawrence of Arabia," and at the same time the French press complains that the maneuvers conducted by Italo Balbo, the new Governor of Libya, can only be interpreted as unfriendly toward France.

All this should make it clear that the foreign policy of dictatorial governments must be one of aggression. Keeping this fundamental truth in mind we should now try to ascertain what social and other forces made these dictatorships possible and what interests are likely to profit most by their domestic and foreign policies.

Hitler, for example, in his ten-year fight for power, spent some hundred and fifty million dollars for propaganda. Now, by pursuing aggressive and nationalist policies, he is simply paying back to Thyssen, Krupp, and the German dye trust (poison-gas manufacturers) the financial assistance they accorded him in his earlier days; he is making these interests the sole beneficiaries of Germany's enormous new armament budget, both the open and the secret one. This, in turn, as a member of the French armament firm of Schneider-Creusot pointed out gleefully to this writer in January, 1932, "will not do the French armament budget any harm." That it is, furthermore, not disadvantageous to the English armament industry may be seen from the fact that the chairman of Vickers Armstrong, Sir Herbert Lawrence, admitted at the company's board meeting on March 25 last that Vickers had recently placed in several Berlin papers a number of full-page advertisements pointing out the potentialities of the new Vickers tank. The Czecho-Slovakian subsidiary of Schneider, the firm of Skoda, which, according to the statements made by Paul Fauré in the French Chamber on February 11, 1932, supported Hitler's election campaigns with great sums of money, has also profited greatly by this development. Newspapers controlled by Skoda have not only suggested a "Teutonic menace to the Balkans," but have also emphasized the "Italian danger" to the members of the Little Entente.

The extent to which armament and other industrial interests will go in order to corrupt and wreck democratic governments, foster nationalism, and create war scares is best seen from the record of M. Bruno Seletzki, Skoda representative in Rumania. Seletzki was arrested on March 25, 1933, because the Rumanian fiscal authorities had discovered that Skoda had fraudulently evaded the payment of 65,000,000 lei in taxes due in Rumania (100 lei equal approximately one dollar). The notebook found in possession of Seletzki when arrested contained the following items:

	lei
Tickets for a dance bought from Mrs. X, whose husband, Mr. X, is being used by us	100,000
Support of the Institute Z, whose director is related to persons of interest to us	500,000
September 16: In bar X with three guests	65,000
September 21: In the restaurant Y eight guests	42,000
and for Madame X, who was of use to us that night, as a small gift	25,000
October 2: Banquet for officials in connection with final balance	20,000
Banquet continued at bar X with eight guests	68,000
Car given as present to "Polidor"	260,000

There were many more similar items which proved that Seletzki had found it necessary to bribe certain persons in order to influence the Rumanian government to place armament contracts with Skoda. One telegram addressed to Skoda by Seletzki read: "Send check for 300,000,000 immediately; otherwise contracts and *treaties* in danger." Shortly after the arrest of Seletzki the liberal deputy Dr. Lupu made the following statement in the Rumanian Chamber: "To obtain an order of fifteen milliard lei, the Skoda works paid nearly four milliard in bribes—that is, almost 25 per cent—to members of the government." He added that "one Minister received 600,000,000 lei, another 400,000,000, a third 25,000,000, and finally a whole group received 700,000,000." Dr. Lupu was followed by M. Goga, a former Minister, who expressed himself as follows: "Armament firms have not only been guilty of bribery, but have also been active in fomenting war scares and in persuading their countries to adopt warlike policies and to increase their armaments." In order to give a concrete example, he showed that the panic which seized the public during the summer of 1930 as a result of a press campaign relative to the imminent Soviet invasion of Bessarabia was unwarranted and that this press campaign had been inspired by the Skoda Works and other international armament makers.

I could prolong these examples until they would fill a full-sized book, but I believe that these few are sufficient to show that, whether there is an *international* armament ring or not, armament makers have every reason to be pro-fascist and anti-democratic. Nor does this apply to armament makers alone but to all those industries which directly or indirectly supply armament makers with materials like steel, iron, coal, copper, nickel, nitrate, and even textiles. Producers are quite justified in believing that only war can restore the shattered markets, as long as Europe adheres to the present capitalist system.

Thus English aircraft makers are pleased with Lord Rothermere, when, in spite of the fact that he is pro-Nazi, he points out that England's air force must not be smaller than Germany's. The Imperial Chemical Industries sees to it that the *Times* "points out" ponderously that the *potentiel chimique* of Germany would allow that country to convert its chemical plants into factories which at a day's notice could begin the manufacture of a "thousand different" poison gases, and that England should not "neglect research." These reports in turn are picked up by the French nationalist press, largely controlled by the Comité des Forges. The press of the Little Entente takes its lead from the French press and with the customary exaggerations interprets the news from a "home angle." The press reports lead to violent, defiant speeches in the different parliaments, which the German press has a splendid opportunity to interpret as threats against "persecuted Germany," and as indicating the increasing armaments of the Allies. The French usually reply with scathing remarks about the well-known hypocrisy of Germany.

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The result is a general atmosphere of distrust; everybody accuses everybody else, and nobody knows where the vicious circle has started. All the while international capitalism looks on complacently, knowing that as long as it can foster nationalism, fascism, and dictatorships, and thus divert the attention of the peoples of Europe from the real issues, there is no danger whatsoever of a social revolution.

[*This is the last of five articles by Mr. Steel dealing with the effects of Nazi diplomacy on European political developments.*]

In the Driftway

MORALISTS have remarked from time immemorial that men are victims of their habits. They seem less generally to have observed that men are also victims of other men's habits. The Drifter feels that he suffers as much from the second tendency as from the first. For some weeks he has been visiting every morning a certain cafeteria for a hot drink and a roll before beginning the herculean labors of his day. At first he drank coffee, but it disagreed with him. He then turned to tea, but it was made so badly that he gave it up. Thereupon he tried milk; it was too cold. He essayed chocolate; it was too sweet. Finally—having sampled every other liquid in the place except buttermilk—he ordered in desperation a cereal drink. Not because he liked it but because it was less distasteful than anything else, the Drifter continued to order this, and at the end of a week the waitress began to hand it to him as soon as he arrived at the counter, without waiting for him to speak. At the end of two weeks she began preparations when she saw the Drifter enter the front door and had the drink already waiting on the counter when he reached the spot. By that time the Drifter had begun to hate the stuff, but what was he to do? You can't tell a smiling and attractive waitress who has a steaming hot drink ready for you when you reach her counter to go to the devil and throw the insipid slop in the sink. At least the Drifter can't. So he continues to drink the stuff and probably will continue to until he bursts or the waitress gets married.

* * * * *

THE Drifter's dilemma is not unusual. He was discussing it with a friend lately, and the latter gave him little hope. "I was the victim of a circumstance like that for fourteen years," observed the friend cheerlessly. "On the menu of a restaurant which I liked and visited frequently I saw listed among the desserts one day baba au rhum, a French pastry which is not generally offered in this country. I ordered it, but the waitress returned with the information that no more babas were left. I showed too much disappointment, I suppose, because the waitress said right off that she would save a baba for me next time. She did. In fact she began saving one right along thereafter, and took so much pleasure in it that I didn't have the heart to tell her that I might occasionally prefer something else. I used to look at the dessert list and long for a piece of pie, some ice cream, or a taste of cheese, all to no avail. I used to go into the restaurant with my mind all made up to protest against my long slavery and demand a change of diet. But when I saw the face of my waitress, beaming with happiness at having sequestrated a baba for my delectation, my determination collapsed and my will became flabby as a yesterday's pancake. My release came only when at last the restaurant went bankrupt and I had to seek another eating-place."

* * * * *

BUT if occasionally one finds oneself in bondage to the habits of other persons in this country, it is nothing to what one encounters in France. In the average humble restaurant where wine is included with the meal without extra charge, it is customary to offer the diner his choice of red or white. Frenchmen always know which kind they prefer and drink one or the other without change. Generally Americans have no fixed preference and would like to be able to switch back and forth. But the French waiter does not understand such queer taste and has no intention of tolerating any nonsense in a place where he is master—as master he is in a French restaurant. Upon your first visit he asks politely, "Rouge ou blanc, monsieur?" If you choose red he remembers it, and when you appear next day he observes smilingly, "Rouge, monsieur?" You are pleased that he recalls you and nod assent. The third time the waiter says nothing, merely setting a bottle of red wine before you. Thereafter it is irrevocably settled. Any suggestion on your part of a change would probably land you in the Bastille.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

A Senator's Private Business

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

In the nation-wide conditions affecting investments and the security therefor, the following confident solicitation, appearing as a standing advertisement in *Capper's Weekly*, and clipped from its issue of July 8, 1933, attracted attention:

YOUR MONEY—IS IT SAFE?

If you are like many other people these days, wondering where you can put your money where you know it will be safe, I believe I can help you.

Write me, and I will tell you where your money will be safe and will guarantee you 6 per cent interest, paid promptly every six months by check. You can draw out all or any part of your money any time you want it. I know this is an exceptional opportunity to invest your money safely, and at good interest.

If you would like to have full details, just write a letter saying, "Please send complete information about the safe 6 per cent investment," and I will answer by return mail. Address Arthur Capper, publisher, Topeka, Kan.—Advertisement.

In response to a request for information, made in the character of a not too literate inquirer, Senator Capper wrote describing the growth of the Capper Publications, adding that it had occurred to him that subscribers and friends "would welcome the opportunity to invest in an institution which . . . offers on gilt-edge security a higher rate of interest than is usually paid," and "offering Gold Certificates in denominations of $50, $100, and $500 which bear interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum payable semi-annually from the day your money is received . . . should you need your money at an time you can get it, with accrued interest, simply by giving us thirty days' notice."

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There also came from Senator Capper printed circulars over his name, stating among other things that "behind these certificates is the Capper Publications," and describing the certificates as "a safe investment in this growing business," with an order blank, headed "Arthur Capper 6 Per Cent Gold Certificates," which contained the following: "In subscribing for these certificates it is mutually understood and agreed that they are a personal pledge of Arthur Capper, backed by the property and publishing plant of the Capper Publications."

There also came from Senator Capper a specimen certificate, headed "6 Per Cent Gold Certificate, Arthur Capper, Publisher," and containing no other mention of gold. For the rest, it constituted an acceptance of the purchaser's money as a loan to Senator Capper upon substantially the terms stated in his letter first above mentioned.

The inquiry was pursued by calling Senator Capper's attention to the fact that the certificate did not say "backed by property," and inquiring at the same time what certificates were out, how many were to be out in all, what was the "gilt-edge security" promised, how much indebtedness was ahead of the certificates, and how a certificate holder was to be assured of his equal share if ever there was not enough to pay all.

In reply there was received from Mr. Capper's assistant business manager a letter which answered none of these inquiries, but stated that "the entire business of Mr. Capper . . . is back of the gold certificates" and described its prosperous condition.

The inquiries were repeated in a letter to Senator Capper which invited him to consider that the certificate holder, in order to know that his money was safe, ought to know how much the Senator was going to borrow altogether, whether the Senator was obliged to treat every certificate holder alike, and what was meant by saying that his whole business was back of the certificates.

The reply of the assistant business manager answered none of the specific inquiries, but said in part: "There is no definite security back of the certificates."

Inasmuch as the same letter said: "We place our certificates on a parity with the investment offered by the best business concerns," the correspondence was continued so far as to remind Senator Capper that such concerns customarily furnish the information he was refusing, and to invite him to justify himself for receiving, upon the offer of gilt-edge security backed by business and plant, the money of unwary persons incapable of the persistent questioning by which alone they could ever be informed that "there is no definite security" at all.

The reminder and the invitation Senator Capper has either evaded or ignored. As a Senator of the United States Mr. Capper has lately had to pass upon legislation designed to safeguard the lender from representations of the borrower apt to mislead the unwary. His qualifications for that duty are not apparent.

Easton, Pa., March 11 JOHN W. FARQUHAR

An Explanation from Oberlin

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

May I comment on the letter from three Oberlin students published in your issue of March 28?

Under the rules of the college, faculty permission for the publication of student periodicals is necessary. Early in the first semester members of the Radical Club sought permission for the publication of a mimeographed weekly, *Progress*. Permission was granted for the rest of that semester, and publication continued throughout the semester. Many of the faculty, probably a majority, regarded the paper as objectionable. My own judgment is that most of the criticism felt and expressed was directed not toward the radicalism of the paper as such, but rather toward the tone and manner of its expression.

Early in the second semester the Committee on Publications reported to the faculty, favorably (though not unanimously), a double request—for authorization of a periodical to be published by students of our Graduate School of Theology and for authorization of the resumption of the publication of *Progress*. No one asked for a division of the question, and the double request was denied. That some of the faculty in voting in the negative were influenced by the belief that *Progress* had been too radical is quite possible; that more were disgusted with the tone and manner of *Progress* is certain; that considerations of general publication policy, applicable to both proposed periodicals, entered into the decision is also certain.

The Radical Club itself is in my judgment playing on the whole a useful minor part in the life of the college. Except in the instance of *Progress*, and in one instance in which I advised and requested them to refrain from a distribution of handbills—the request being definitely a request and not an order—they have had no interference from the college, which has on the contrary provided rooms for their meetings, announced their meetings, and cooperated specifically in one or two instances.

We have, in my judgment, an unfilled need for a periodical featuring student opinion, of any color, as to public affairs. It is not true, however, that radical opinion, ably stated, cannot find expression in our present publications. For shorter communications the "Vox pop" column in the bi-weekly student paper, the *Review*, is available. Our student monthly, the *Olympian*, recently published a definitely radical and very well-written article by one of the three students who wrote to you.

ERNEST H. WILKINS, President

Oberlin, Ohio, March 28

Academic Freedom

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

No person interested in academic freedom can fail to admire the splendid courage shown by a number of teachers who have recently come to the defense of their colleagues in the fight against retrenchment in education. Two of the most courageous of these teachers, Isadore Begun and Mrs. Williana Burroughs, were brought up before the Board of Education on June 13 on charges of "conduct unbecoming a teacher." Tried by their accusers, they were found guilty and dismissed from the system.

The New York Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union is actively interested in this case because it is obvious that Mr. Begun and Mrs. Burroughs were dismissed *not* for "conduct unbecoming a teacher" but because of their activity in defense of teachers' interests, because of their courage in asserting their civil right to petition. The issue in this case is clearly one of academic freedom, involving not only the vindication of two able and courageous exponents of civil rights but the encouragement of all teachers in the assertion of their right to express themselves freely on questions of public interest.

An appeal from the decision of the Board of Education in this case is now being carried to the courts. The cost of printing and filing this appeal is approximately $150. While the sum required is comparatively small, it must be raised immediately. May we, through your columns, ask for contributions toward a fund which we are raising to help finance this appeal? These contributions must be sent, without delay, to the New York City Academic Freedom Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue.

New York, March 21 HELENE GANS, Secretary

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Methodism and War

To the Editors of The Nation:

The resolution which follows was adopted unanimously by 200 Methodist ministers in a recent session of the New York Methodist Preachers' Meeting:

> We, Methodist ministers, representative of five conferences—the Newark, the New York, the New York East, the East German, and the Eastern Swedish—gathered in the weekly Preachers' Meeting in the City of New York Monday, March 12, 1934, commend the action of six members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, students at Ohio State University—Charles B. Hart, John W. Carter, Harry L. Baker, Howard Moore, Donald G. Scripture, and Richard D. Baumgardner—for their loyalty to Christ and the church in refusing to participate, against the dictates of their consciences, in compulsory military drill. While we regret that this action has caused hardship and persecution, including expulsion from Ohio State University, we rejoice that these Methodist youths have responded so nobly to the action taken by our General Conference in session in Atlantic City in 1932, and that this action has focused the attention of the world upon the fact that Methodism is against war, and the war system in our schools and colleges. Their action is a clarion call to youth throughout the land to follow Christ, and to the Methodist church to support with action its pronouncement of principle. We call upon the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church and its representative agencies and conferences to rally to the defense of these youths and others who may be like-minded and in similar circumstances. We pray that they may be loyal to their God-given consciences until the end, though as with Christ it may mean the burden of a Cross.

New York, March 20 Lee H. Ball, Secretary

Correction

In Paul Y. Anderson's article, Crisis in the NRA, in *The Nation* for April 4, appeared a reference to Colonel Lindbergh as the "son-in-law of an incorruptible and illustrious father." Mr. Anderson wrote "son of an incorruptible and illustrious father," and the change was a compositor's error which was not caught in the proof.—Editors The Nation.

The Intelligent Traveler

What Will a Dollar Buy?

II

In an article in the issue of March 21 current travel costs in the European countries most visited by Americans were compared with costs in 1929. It was shown that price reductions at hotels and in transportation have almost canceled the decrease in the dollar's purchasing power. The present article deals with travel costs in countries less familiar to Americans where travel is exceptionally inexpensive, the depreciation of the dollar notwithstanding.

Soviet Russia

Few people going to Europe nowadays wish to omit visiting the Soviet Union, some knowledge of which becomes increasingly necessary to an understanding of the world's affairs. Time was when travel there was pioneering. Visitors had to be prepared to take things as they found them, and they often found them primitive. Now travel facilities have been improved and standardized by the government, and the traveler is assured of reasonable comfort. This year one may expect to find more hotels open, all hotel service smartened up, better food, more punctual trains, larger fleets of automobiles for the use of tourists, good interpreters—in fact, better organization all around, even compared to last year when travel conditions measured up well against those in other parts of Europe.

Russia is the one foreign country where the American dollar buys as much travel as it did last season. This is because the traveler does not change his dollars into the currency of the country, as he does when he buys services in other countries. Prices for all-inclusive tours are quoted on a day-by-day basis in dollars, and are the same as for last year. A week in Leningrad and Moscow, for instance, with second-class accommodations throughout, sightseeing, interpreter service, visas, and so forth, costs $56 this year as it did last, or an average of $8 a day. Third class the same short tour costs $35, or $5 a day, and third class in Leningrad and Moscow is surprisingly good.

If possible, the traveler should plan his trip and buy all his accommodations in Russia before leaving America, but if he wants to extend his trip after getting there, he may pay for the additional time in dollars. Most incidental expenses can be paid for in dollars—the excellent Torgsin stores offer food, cigarettes, art treasures of the old regime, modern peasant crafts. Theater tickets, street-car fares, extra interpreters, and guide service may be purchased for dollars. The traveler may buy a few rubles for such things as food at a rural railroad station if he cares to, but he can get along without any local currency to speak of.

Outstanding events in Russia include the Moscow Summer School, the Music Festival from May 20 to May 30, the Theater Festival in early September, and, of course, the May 1 and November 7 celebrations.

It cannot be said too often that the pleasantest and most economical way of traveling in the Soviet Union is with a small group. More than a hundred group tours from America are planned for the coming summer.

Jugoslavia

Jugoslavia was recreated after the World War and began an independent, unified existence after centuries of partition. Its people are mainly Slavic, although it has been dominated by the Greeks, Romans, Venetians, Turks, French, and Austrians, all of whom have left their imprint on its life and culture.

The beauty of the Jugoslav mountains and seacoast and the charm of the medieval and Oriental cities cannot be overstated. There is a sort of operatic brilliance about the Jugoslav landscape which one associates with the whimsical kingdom of Graustark. Louis Adamic has celebrated the primitive—almost Homeric—life of the Jugoslav peasants in "The Native's Return."

Mountainous South Serbia is best seen by motor. The scenic roads are safely built but one should engage a native chauffeur, accustomed to mountain driving. Putnik, the official travel bureau, charges about $25 a day for a car accommodating four persons, including the services of a chauffeur. There are a few responsible private fleets which charge less; the best is said to be that of Radovan Stevovic, of Dubrovnik, who was formerly chauffeur to King Nicholas and who speaks English well. A rail journey of 300 kilometers costs $6.70 second class.

Dalmatia is squeezed between the Alps and the sea. A coastwise boat offers a restful and beautiful way of seeing its port towns—some of them dating from Roman times, some showing strong Venetian influence. This is the Riviera of Jugoslavia; the beaches, semi-tropical gardens, and mountain setting make it one of the loveliest parts of Europe.

Hotel rates and meals are extremely cheap. You may live quite comfortably in a good hotel for a dollar a day—many single rooms are quoted at less. Three meals a day can be had for less than $1.50.

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HUNGARY

Budapest is one of the gayest cities in Europe, or rather the gayest two cities, for Buda, the ancient Oriental quarter, lies on one side of the Danube, and Pest, the up-to-date Occidental city, on the other. Open-air cafes with good food and gipsy music, swimming and boating on the Danube, and excursions into the countryside are the attractions. Hungary is best visited by making headquarters in Budapest and traveling out to other sections.

The Debreczen festival from June 3 to June 17, a great peasant event, is in a strange Magyar setting. From Debreczen one makes a trip to the cattle plain—the Hortobagy. Here is a cowboy life far more primitive and picturesque than our Western plains can boast, even in the movies. The Csikos wears a brilliantly embroidered cloak, rides a saddle without girths, uses a short lasso attached to a handle, and herds the silver-horned cattle first brought into Hungary in the tenth century. The vast plain is famous for remarkable mirages; they are to be seen almost daily.

The Hungarians celebrate St. Stephen's Day on August 20 as a national holiday. There are processions, illuminations, national dances, native costumes, and Mardi Gras revels in every town and city.

One excursion not to be missed is a Sunday-morning trip to Mezö-Kövesd, a lace-making and embroidery center. The afternoon Mass is always the occasion for a gorgeous display of the native costumes of the region, said to be the most colorful in Europe.

Room and three meals in a second-class hotel in Budapest cost about $3.50 a day. A railway journey of 300 kilometers costs $7.40. The government offers special excursions from the border to Budapest which include a 30 per cent discount on railway fare and full services, including sightseeing, in the city. A three-day excursion costs $21 second class for room, meals, sightseeing with guides, entrance fees to museums, and so forth.

Meda Lynn, secretary of the Hungarian-American Society, in Rockefeller Center, New York, will help prospective visitors to Hungary with advice on what to read and other travel information.

JOHN ROTHSCHILD

[*A third article on the cost in dollars of travel in Europe, taking up Spain and Austria, will appear in an early issue.*]

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Victory for the Motor Manufacturers

IN the midst of apparent defeat on the Wall Street front, proponents of the established order in finance and industry have welcomed the victory of the automobile manufacturers in the prevailing labor controversy. While recognizing that the Roosevelt settlement provides a postponement rather than a permanent solution of the labor issue, the automobile executives and their sympathizers see in the check to the American Federation of Labor's most publicized drive for unionization the possibility that an aggressive counter-offensive may recoup for the industrial profit system whatever ground has been lost to labor since the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, voiced the sentiments of the manufacturers after the Washington agreement had been reached when he remarked smilingly to newspaper reporters, "All's well that ends well." This was the climax of an exhibit of industrial intransigence which began with the first appearance of the manufacturers in Washington on March 14. At that time the spokesmen for the industry challenged the jurisdiction of the National Labor Board in the dispute, declared that the federal labor union had no standing before the board in any event, and offered to bargain with their employees' representatives only on their own terms, subject to a minimum observance of the indefinite NRA labor guaranties. On their adjournment to New York the motor magnates attempted to keep out of the newspapers their refusal to accept compromise proposals advanced by General Johnson. When they returned again to Washington to deal directly with the President, they left behind with their confreres the word that they were resolved to stand pat. And now that the truce has been declared, they feel justified in boasting, privately, that a strike was avoided with a minimum of concessions on their part and with the achievement of a new method of labor procedure which certainly will not facilitate the organizational efforts of outside unions.

The willingness of the automobile companies to persevere in an attitude which risked losing through strikes the alluring profits in prospect from the present revival of automobile sales was partly based on their deep-seated resolve to fight unionization at any cost. But the stubbornness with which they maintained their uncompromising front was reinforced by a conviction that the Roosevelt Administration could not afford a showdown with the industry at a time when the employment and production of the automobile plants were playing a particularly vital role in the current recovery efforts. It was of course necessary to give a little ground, if for no other reason than to avoid forcing the President to use his licensing power to prevent a strike. But only one important concession was wrung from the manufacturers—their agreement to recognize the authority of the new NRA board in questions of representation of employees, discrimination, and discharge.

In contrast to this single compromise, the industry points

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to an impressive list of triumphs on many of the most hotly contested issues. The ogre of the closed shop is banished; recognition of the American Federation of Labor as such is nowhere required; and company unions will have equal representation with outside organizations on the bargaining committees, thus giving the manufacturers the advantage of bargaining on both sides of the fence. Furthermore, by limiting charges of discrimination to cases where union-membership lists have been disclosed to the companies, the agreement apparently offers the manufacturers even better facilities than in the past for exerting border-line pressure on their employees to enrol in company unions. Their knowledge of the membership of the company unions, plus their well-developed system of industrial espionage, should give them satisfactory information as to the membership of the outside unions without actual recourse to the lists of these unions.

The material cost of the victory at Washington was confined to a 10 per cent wage increase, announced just prior to the Washington conferences as a strategic peace offering to employees and the Administration. This will work little hardship in view of the profits of the dominant automobile corporations. The desire to maintain these margins of profit lies behind the employers' opposition to unionization, with its threat of a greater share in the industry's revenues for workers. General Motors, the largest corporation in the industry, which has the largest earnings of any industrial enterprise in the world, provides an excellent picture of what the motor interests are striving to protect. In 1928 General Motors' pay roll of $365,000,000 absorbed 25 per cent of its total revenues, while its net profits of $276,000,000 represented 18.7 per cent of its revenues, a relationship of profits to labor expense unequaled by any trust of comparable size. By 1931, after two years of depression and of declining sales, General Motors was still able to retain 14 per cent of its revenues as net profits, partly because its wages had been reduced $153,000,000 since 1929, compared with a drop in profits of $131,000,000. And in 1933 the efficiency of General Motors in controlling its labor costs was strikingly demonstrated when its net profits increased more than $83,000,000, as opposed to an increase of only $27,900,000 in its pay roll. While the gain in pay roll amounted to 19 per cent, the increase in its dollar sales was 31 per cent and in its unit sales of cars was 54 per cent.

From the start of the New Deal program the defense of such profit margins has determined the industry's attitude toward the recovery measures of the Administration. Since the three dominant manufacturers—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—had already overcome the competition of the small companies, the monopolistic possibilities in the NRA offered no inducement, but its labor guaranties were viewed as a direct threat to the automotive profit system. Hence the campaign last August to enrol employees in company unions by methods ranging from the most direct coercion to mass propaganda and ballyhoo designed to enhance the workers' loyalty toward their employers. And hence the manufacturers' willingness, during the strike of the tool- and die-makers last fall, to allow the wage demands of a few thousand workers to delay their entire production program from one to three months rather than to risk a settlement which might set a dangerous precedent for larger segments of their employees. The present widespread unrest has been brewing for many months. And the manufacturers' jubilation at the Washington settlement arises in no little degree from the fact that the union has been defeated in its strategy of launching its attack just as the peak selling season for automobiles was beginning. If a further showdown can be avoided until after the first of July, the manufacturers feel that they can face union demands with complete stubbornness, since the best part of the year, from a profit standpoint, will be behind them.

PETER HELMOOP NOYES

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Books, Music, Drama

Return to Ritual

By MARK VAN DOREN

The mother of life indulges all our wandering
Down the lone paths that narrow into peace.
She knows too well the gradual discovery
And the slow turning round until we cease—
Resolved upon the wide road once again
Whose dust hangs over day and mantles men.

Here is the drumming phalanx, here is the multitude;
Listen, and let us watch them over the stile.
We that remember clean moss ways and the tamaracks,
Let us be timorous now and shudder awhile.
We shall be early enough, no matter when,
Mother of dust, O mother of dust and men.

How time passes, here by the wall of eternity!
Even so soon we summon her; we are prepared.
Already these feet are lifting in a wild sympathy;
Who can remember the cool of a day unshared?
Mother of marches, mother, receive us then—
Listen! The dust is humming a song to the men.

Man and Nature

Man and Nature. By Alfred North Whitehead. University of Chicago Press. 50 cents.

IN the broadest sense the aim of philosophy and the aim of science are the same—to understand the world. In practice, moreover, there has never been any persistent and consistent theoretical delimitation of the field of one from the field of the other. And yet the fact remains that philosophers as distinguished from scientists and scientists as distinguished from philosophers continue to exist. One reason is that philosophers generally stress the importance of wholeness, while, in practice, the scientist is content to understand piecemeal—to break knowledge up into departments and to postpone, perhaps indefinitely, the unification of physics, biology, and the rest into one general science of nature. No one denies that the scientist's method was useful at a certain stage, but just now there is a tendency, more marked than usual, to insist that the time has come to tackle seriously the problem of unification, and Professor Whitehead's two lectures—brilliantly written like all his more technical works—are devoted to an analysis of the situation. Specifically, it is his contention that the various sciences in their present state are not merely fragmentary but inconsistent to the point where the fundamental assumptions of one make the fundamental assumptions of another mere nonsense. Incidentally his argument constitutes also a brief, relatively simple general introduction to his philosophical thought.

Man, he says, is part of nature, and yet the conventional scientific view, going back to Descartes, persists in treating the two as though they were separate, completely discontinuous realities. In the first it recognizes the presence of consciousness, choice, and aim. The second is merely described in terms of "laws," like the "law of gravitation," which, upon examination, turn out to be not laws at all but merely descriptions of alleged behavior, the ultimate reasons for which are completely ununderstandable, since "cause" becomes an empty word and there is nothing to explain the fact that—to continue with the law of gravity as an example—bodies separated in space should have any, much less this specific, relation to one another. Thus physical science rests content merely to describe phenomena which it grants to be ununderstandable, despite the fact that the scientist is himself a part of nature and capable of processes whose existence he denies in nature as a whole.

There have, to be sure, been attempts to achieve unity by descriptions of human behavior in terms of physical laws of the same character as those used to describe the phenomena of the inanimate world, but Professor Whitehead regards these as laughably unsuccessful and proposes, on the contrary, that all phenomena be understood in the terms which we find useful for the understanding of life. No crude positivist could argue more insistently than he does for the interdependence of matter and consciousness, but—to put the argument in a crudely paradoxical form—he draws the conclusion not that life is a mechanical phenomenon but that so-called mechanical phenomena include a living element. Early philosophers considered only the highest type of mental phenomena on the one hand and what we call inanimate phenomena on the other. We pursue a similarly defective method by considering man's relation to the world only as it is established through the highest of his senses—particularly through sight. But if the early philosophers had studied the lower animals and the plants, if we could be more aware of the relationship established between ourselves and our environment by means of the physiological activities below the level of consciousness, we should perceive more clearly the impropriety of making a sharp division between what is mental and what is not.

As Professor Whitehead completes his exceedingly subtle analysis and draws nearer to his conclusion, he becomes, of necessity perhaps, somewhat more difficult to summarize, but he seems to end with a conception which so far as I know goes back ultimately to Peirce—with the suggestion, that is to say, that the so-called laws of so-called inanimate nature are really only rather firmly fixed habits, and that as the more complex forms of organization arise, such habits play a less and less important role as they give way more and more to purposeful action. As the unpredictability of the behavior of the individual atom indicates, such habits are not absolutely invariable, even in inanimate nature. They become less and less important as one ascends the scale of life, and in man they are actually subordinate to those capacities for consciousness, aim, and judgment which dominate his behavior.

These general conclusions are not essentially different from those reached in "Adventures of Ideas," and whether or not one accepts them there can be no question concerning the force of the destructive criticism directed against conventional scientific conceptions. Obviously man *is* part of nature, and yet there is no satisfactory account of the bridge between living and nonliving matter. Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept the explanation Whitehead offers as more than an ingenious speculation, difficult to believe in it deeply enough to persist in the belief after one has returned from the adventure in speculation. The idea that the tendency of the stone to fall is merely a habit pretty consistently followed and only one stage removed from the tropism of a plant, which is itself only one stage removed from the deliberative activity of a higher animal, is an idea which will at best require considerable getting used to before it can become one of the things we believe as distinguished from one of those we say we believe. There is also something to be said for the reluctance of the scientists to give up the piecemeal conceptions which have had a pragmatic value in favor of others replete with vertiginous possibilities. The physicist is in a quan-

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dary and may be driven to take a leap in the dark, but men like Einstein and Planck still rebel against the suggestion that they attribute free-will to the atom.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Nijinsky

Nijinsky. By Romola Nijinsky. Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

MME NIJINSKY'S book is impressive from a number of angles. It is a biography of extreme personal intensity, devoted, anguished, and, in the best sense, controversial. It embodies information not to be had in any other form concerning one of the first and most unappreciated of all arts—dancing. Its subject matter, even if it were not treated with honor, as here it is, would command the respect of any sentient reader.

For Vaslav Nijinsky was a genius—in his capacity for perception, his qualities of imagination and fantasy, his intensity for life. Incidentally, he was an artist, and the greatest compliment one can pay to his wife and biographer is to say that she shows his great art as incidental. First of all he was a man of the rarest sensibilities and human courage, endowed by the muses with a surfeit of gifts, for which was exacted an equivalent price. His fate, like his whole life, was on a scale due demi-gods and heroes.

Nijinsky the dancer exists in the memories of those who can never forget him, in photographs which are far too sparsely reproduced in this book, and in the descriptions of his critics and lovers. It is a heart-breaking task to try to recapture in a later time the hot essence of a dancer's impact. Exaggeration is no praise, yet one can scarcely speak of him without exaggerating. And Nijinsky as an innovator lives on, in a most ironic and saddening condition.

In the history of modern theatrical dancing, that is, in the tradition passed from master to pupil for four hundred years, there are perhaps but four names that have altered the course of gesture and movement. There is Noverre, the foremost formulator and initial prophet of dancing. There is Vigano, who gave the expression of drama to a technique without pantomime. There is Fokine, who liberated and revivified a developed classical tradition. And for us, and before anyone, there is Nijinsky, whose researches into the springs of action have extended, by implication at least, the limits of the human body to infinity. In "Faune," in "Jeux," in "Le Sacre du Printemps," he presented ballet digested, reversed, renewed; he used gesture as an end in itself, for the first time, in order to pursue it ultimately to the conveyance of any consciously given meaning. This meaning he was hardly allowed to demonstrate. Yet modernists in the field—Laban, Dalcroze, Wigman, Bodenweiser, Nijinsky's sister Nijinska, Massine, and many others—consciously or not, have taken a part of his discoveries, a segment of his innovation, the jerky, abrupt, reactionary part which was only a step in his development, and for twenty years repeated it in a slowly stratifying "modernism," a school of naive surprise or dilettante improvisation, or the obvious and tiresome reversal of traditionalism. Any great work breeds fleas on grateful bastards. Think only of the spawn of "Ulysses." Yet even they have the "stream of consciousness" to trace them back to teacher. Hardly a "modern" dancer recognizes the remote and, if he but knew, the angry sources of Nijinsky.

For Nijinsky's interest in dancing was religious. To him it was a way of life. He believed he was, and he surely seems to have been, ordained by nature as a dancer, and with the unique instrument of his miraculous body he was occupied with testimony to the truths of action. He was more heroic than to have been merely interested in the destruction of classical ballet. Even "Le Sacre" couldn't kill that, nor did he want it to. Everything that moved with meaning was within his province. Universal in his information and capability, he understood better than anyone the gracious limits the theater imposes. Nijinsky seems to us nearly messianic. He was occupied with laws that move men and stars, that make equally *pas de deux* of proton and electron, of men and girls. His prophecies, owing to the inscrutabilities of great fortune, have descended to us as nearly gnomic. There is for us only the immeasurable mystery of what he might have done. One's only quarrel with Mme Nijinsky is that she gives us so little inkling into his choreographic ideas. Perhaps there will be another book for technicians. There must be.

Nijinsky is surely one of the great men of our time, and it is only an index of his greatness that his wife's remarkable memoir does him less than justice. Personal prejudice, faults of memory, fears of giving offense to still living associates and extra expense to publishers make this record incomplete. Basically it is reliable in its frankness even through the ghastly denouement. Nijinsky emerges as an angel, which he may have been—for he was surely not very different from one—yet scarcely less a human, though one cannot help feeling that he was not exactly the kind of angel his wife found him. What happened between her finding and her farewell is the second part of this book, food for many books more, the evidence by which, not as a writer but as a woman, she will be finally judged.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Gettysburg

Long Remember. By MacKinlay Kantor. Coward-McCann. $2.50.

MOST students of the Civil War intend some one to write a historical novel about it, but now I think Mr. Kantor has preempted the most fascinating scene of that great conflict. Historical novelists of the future will attempt to do Gettysburg at their own risk. "Long Remember" is undoubtedly the best historical novel of the old-fashioned, spectacular genre in American literature. By claiming for it so much, one must be careful not to claim the wrong qualities, and merits that it does not possess. The style is competent, but not distinguished. The method of narration, which I shall briefly describe, was anticipated by John Peale Bishop in "Many Thousands Gone" (1931); yet I am authoritatively assured that Mr. Kantor has not read the earlier book. Without detracting from the power of the book as a whole, there is an occasional blurring of scenes in an excess of detail. Though Mr. Kantor contributes no style or method to the art of fiction, he is the first novelist in this country to apply to historical fiction the principles of the minutely documented, realistic novel.

The book opens with the return to Gettysburg, a few days before anyone could know that a battle was to be fought there, of a young man who has spent his later youth in the Northwest. He has lost the home ties; he has been remote from the agitations that precipitated the war; and being a student of "philosophy," he has become a pacifist. The motivation of this point of view is probably the weakest feature dramatically in the book. In order to present the battle dramatically, as an event observed by one person whose fortunes, moreover, are critically involved in it, the hero *had* to be there; but in order to see the battle comprehensively as a spectacle, the hero had to see it from both sides. Mr. Kantor's choice in this dilemma has been, perhaps, not merely technical; for it is difficult for a modern writer to approach wars of the past from a contemporaneous point of view. Mr. Kantor reads into the Civil War, through the pacifism of his hero and the aimless violence of the whole action,

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something of the "psychology" of the Great War. The hero is most dextrously placed so that he views both armies. His home is behind the Confederate lines; he is having an affair with a Union officer's wife, the officer himself being a boyhood friend; and the woman, having heard that her husband knows about it, sends the lover on a roundabout way to the Union lines to tell the husband, as he faces death, the white lie of her innocence. He arrives in time to witness the shelling of the Union lines and Pickett's charge—the finest scene in the book.

On this slender plot the two main features of the book hang: the spectacle of the battle and the disruption of social life in the violence of war. As a spectacle of war, as I have said, the book has no equal. The marching, the fighting, the talk and shouting, a road full of soldiers, a heap of dead men, a general and his staff—all these are unforgettably vivid. The preliminaries of the battle—the excitement of the people, the first appearance of men from both armies, the swift concentration—are adroitly presented through the observation of one man, the hero.

Fine as Borodino and Austerlitz are, in "War and Peace," they lack this immediate quality of dramatic observation; Tolstoy resorts to abstract descriptoin. Yet, like Tolstoy, Mr. Kantor tells us that war is meaningless. It is a respectable thesis and, given the structure of modern society, one that the present reviewer holds. But the artistic statement of a meaningless event should not, in itself, be meaningless; if the deepest passions are involved, the statement will be ironic. It seems to me that Mr. Kantor would have gained in power had he used the ironic method; that is, if he had contrasted what each side thought it was fighting for with what was to win no matter which side won—J. P. Morgan was bound to win sooner or later—he would have added considerable depth to a canvas which is largely a brilliant surface. This same stricture applies with less force to the lives of the Gettysburgers, of whom the hero is the center; there is no well-defined background of civilized life to give their disorder significance. (To keep the love affair from being sordid, Mr. Kantor has to verge upon sentimentality.) These characters are drawn well, but the highest consciousness of the culture they represent is not theirs. In the North in 1863 this was in the large cities; in the South the farm or the village could supply the novelist—as it did Mr. Bishop—with everything for a dramatic framework that Gettysburg lacked. Mr. Kantor has superior narrative and descriptive powers; his historical information is accurate to the infinitesimal detail; yet, because of the tractarian feature of the work one feels that "Long Remember" is not quite in that class of fiction which is better history than the historians write.

ALLEN TATE

Making of a Masterpiece

James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses. By Frank Budgen. Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.50.

THIS book by an English painter who met Joyce in Zurich in 1918 and had many talks with him while "Ulysses" was in the final stages of composition is in many respects the most valuable that has so far appeared on that author. Its principal value lies in the many direct quotations from Joyce's conversations during this period—remarks on the nature of the work he was then engaged in writing, on the problems of artistic creation, on life and art in general. Unlike Proust, Mann, and a number of other important modern novelists, Joyce has always carefully observed the distinction between the creative and what Kenneth Burke calls the "essayistic" in his fiction. (The long dialogue on aesthetics in the "Portrait," for example, is not so much an indulgence in abstract theorizing on the part of the author as an integral part of the main character's experience.) Joyce has also refrained from writing essays, from introducing the work of his friends, from delivering lectures. For this reason the quotations in Mr. Budgen's book take on a special preciousness for the student of Joyce's work; many of them are worth several pages of critical commentary or exegesis. Here, for example, is Joyce's own description of the style in which the famous Nansikaa episode is written—"A namby-pamby jammy marmalady drawersy (alto là!) style with effects of incense mariolatry . . . stewed cockles, painters' palette, chitchat, circumlocution, etc." It is interesting to learn that the Ithaca episode, frequently regarded as the one artistic lapse in the work, is actually Joyce's own favorite: "It is the ugly duckling of the book." Of Molly Bloom's monologue we are told that "it is the indispensable countersign to Bloom's passport to eternity." And Molly Bloom herself is "sane full amoral fertilizable untrustworthy engaging limited prudent indifferent Weib."

Much of Mr. Budgen's book is devoted to his own interpretation of the different episodes in "Ulysses"—not in any truly systematic manner but in the light of his acquaintanceship with Joyce's chief interests and purposes while he was writing the work. Many of the points made by Mr. Budgen are illuminating; his analysis of Leopold Bloom in particular is one of the best that has been made. A rather casual mixture of documentation, gossip, reporting, and good criticism, Mr. Budgen's book is not easily classifiable, but it is an important addition to the great body of material accumulating around the name of Joyce.

WILLIAM TROY

Shorter Notices

Such Is My Beloved. By Morley Callaghan. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

In his fourth novel Mr. Callaghan chooses a situation that to many readers will seem disagreeably old-fashioned and sensational: a Catholic priest in a Canadian city meets two prostitutes on a street near his parish house, befriends them in a sincere effort to improve their lives, and in reward gets sent away to a monastery for discipline. None of the elements here can be called new and the situation as a whole is one that is fraught with perils of every kind. But the success with which Mr. Callaghan avoids all the banal attitudes usually arising out of the treatment of the Thais theme—from the leering cynicism of Anatole France to the glib simplifications of the Freudians—reminds one once again that no theme is so old that it cannot take on new life under the pressure of a little concentrated honesty. The honesty in this case comes out of a sedulous fidelity to what the characters believe to be their own motives—a kind of auctorial humility that sets the tone for everything in the story. Such humility does not make for the most exciting acting nor for the most brilliant effects of writing, but it is undoubtedly responsible for that "absolute sincerity and simplicity" of which Jacques Maritain speaks on the dust cover. The only objection that one might raise against this tenderly unfolded idyl of sacred and profane love is that it is a little too long. It would be even more effective if compressed within the dimensions of the short story.

The Making of Americans. By Gertrude Stein. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

"Family living is being existing," Gertrude Stein decides toward the end of her long chronicle of the Herslands and the Gossols and the Dehnings, whose lives are supposed to be representative of the kind of lives led by middle-class families all over the United States. So much one is willing enough to believe and

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even that these people are not very different, as far as the content of their experience is concerned, from the Forsytes and the Buddenbrookses and members of bourgeois groups everywhere in the world. But it is harder to believe that their lives offer no more interest than the mere fact of their "being existing." Existing, to tell the truth, is not very interesting. Beginning and beginning again and then ending may be life, but life is not literature, and to write out of such a view of life is to impose on literature a monotony which should be allowed to remain in life alone. Bernard Fay, in his introduction, reveals the confusion admirably when he speaks of "this long present which rises in this book and *surrounds us like a tide.*" Has literature then reached the stage when its success is to be measured by the extent to which it drowns us in words? There was a time when this was measured by the extent to which it stemmed the tide, when its interest consisted in its resistance rather than in its surrender to the monotonous flux of the present. The essence of the aesthetic fallacy to which Miss Stein has been loyal for more than thirty years is the failure to observe the distinction between literature and life. It is strange that Miss Stein, with her knowledge and appreciation of the plastic arts, should have fallen into such a confusion. For these should have taught her that the forms inherent in life do not take on any particular value until submitted to the mind and the will of the artist. But this is probably an unnecessarily long way around to saying that the effect of reading this work is like that of listening to a piece of music on one of those modern gramophones which automatically play the same record over and over again without stopping.

Music

The End and Origin of a Movement

IN this article I wish to discuss two enterprises which, since their series of performances are still in progress, can make my notice prospectively apropos as well as retrospectively. I refer to the four concerts by the Roth Quartet—with two more to follow—devoted wholly to contemporary composers, and to the first two of four concerts under the direction of Roy Harris at the New School for Social Research, illustrating musical trends from the medieval thirteenth century to the "golden age" of the sixteenth.

The very appealing interpretations offered by the Roth Quartet bear up the suspicion that much of the resistance to modern works has been the fault of performers rather than composers. For these violinists have revealed a wealth of subtle possibilities in contemporary works, have shown that the new music need not be presented merely as a kind of unrelenting attack upon the audience. They understand the art of gradation—and the versatility of their resourcefulness has made their concerts a succession of engrossing changes.

Any attempt to translate specifically musical effects into the abstract equivalents of speech must make the designs of the composer seem few. Music can grow assertive or subside; one voice can emerge and proclaim itself above its fellows; a theme can be broken off, remolded, or recalled out of an earlier texture; there are swift, contemplative, or agitated rhythms; there can be melodic or harmonic emphasis. Add contrasts in timbre, and perhaps any specifically musical event could be made to fit under one or another of these headings. The unending variety arises from the many possible combinations, overlappings, and sequences that make each particular group of notes unique. But much of the satisfaction in listening to the Roth Quartet

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resides in their ability to make us feel the formal *direction* embodied in any such uniqueness, in bringing out the generalization that underlies the particularization. Music when played by them discloses, above all, the incidental fluctuancies implicit in the composers' inventions. Like a good symphony conductor, they seem to be stressing a work's "talking points."

The first concert presented Albert Roussel's Quartet in D Major (Opus 45) and Maurice Ravel's Quartet in F Major. Sandwiched between these suave works were three short burlesques by Alfredo Casella, one bombastically "barbaric," one mock-solemn, and the last an industrious distortion of the old Viennese *Waltzer*. The Ravel number often contained reminiscences of the way in which Debussy builds up to a chord like a discovery, so that the chord corroborates and violates one's expectations simultaneously—being both prepared for and surprising, it seems like the sudden opening of a vista as we mount a slope, a particular kind of gratification which later music, in growing still more elliptical, has often sacrificed.

In the second concert, which contained works by Milhaud and Dohnanyi, we should note the Variations in Three Movements, by Roy Harris. However, it was somewhat disappointing, except at strategic moments such as beginnings and endings, where the composition became clearer—otherwise, the varyings seemed centrifugal, carried far from their source, less variations than departures.

The third concert began with a piece by Honegger, progressing schematically from a lyrical *appassionato*, through an *adagio* whose dissonances were largely obtained by the method of suspension found even in classical music, to a final *allegro* showing evidence of the "planned avoidance," the simple negation of consonance, which seems to underlie much of modern harmonic theory. The Copland number, written in 1927, was interesting, but hardly among his most important offerings. The *lento molto* had a very formal opening, but soon became scattered—reminding one of those many poems by Whitman in which the first line scans perfectly, only to be followed by a trailing off into prose rhythms. The *rondino* was pleasantly agile, ending with a not very abstruse affirmation. The closing work, a Quartet in F Sharp Major by Leo Weiner, seemed to profit greatly by the confidence of the performers, who played it with such gusto that it was shown to possess vivacity, and even drama.

Perhaps the fourth concert has been the most impressive throughout. It began with the first quartet of Bela Bartok, whose rough-and-ready style retains its boldness despite the many bolder things that have come after it. It was vigorous and inventive, and was played with variety of emphasis. Walter Piston's Quartet in C began with an *allegro* built about an extremely precipitate rhythmic figure that seemed almost to pitch the auditor forward in participation; it was followed by a filmy and contemplative *adagio,* which, however, soon began protecting itself by moving into more technical, less moody complications, growing filmy and contemplative again at the close; the final *allegro vivace* seemed less a further step than an alembicated return to the quality of the first movement. The evening closed with Debussy's Opus 10, often strongly suggestive of piano music, with the trills and arabesques which Debussy somehow manages to restore to significance. The *andantino* particularly seemed to sum up the Debussyan nostalgia, like that of a sunny afternoon in a colorful foreign town overlooking the seashore, where one walks as an "outsider," observant and gently unhappy.

Having talked too much in detail of the Roth concerts, I must attempt merely to suggest in a general way the value of the exhibit of contrapuntal music from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries being presented by a group of competent players, along with critical comments by Roy Harris. We have here in miniature the course of a vast cultural transition, as the

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numbers are arranged to show us the slow steps toward greater "freedom" which marked the course of composition while the authority of instruments was coming to replace the authority of the voice as a major stimulus to musical imagination, and secular standards gradually supplanted the canons of the church. Perhaps we may even say that counterpoint flourished as a sort of halfway stage, when composers had learned kinds of agility to which instruments are best fitted, while retaining much of the melodic emphasis which resides in the genius of the human voice. We also note a remarkable instance of a tradition's transplantation: how, when the contrapuntal movement in Italy had succumbed to operatic impressionism and instrumental harmonization, some of the diehards of the old school taught their lore to students from Germany, with such men as Hasler carrying back to the north the musical framework which was finally to reach its summation in Bach.

As we listen to these early instances of the contrapuntal style, often still imbued with the pastoral placidness that we find in Palestrina, we can discern *in utero* the subsequent overwhelming emphasis upon instrumental thinking, which reached another critical stage in the work of Wagner and Berlioz. Thereafter, if the trend was to continue, we were headed for an increasingly non-vocal conception of musical problems, the study of instrumental qualities to which the vocally engendered laws of composition no longer apply. Harris seems to admire most that stage when vocal genius and instrumental genius were most evenly balanced; others propose to carry the purely instrumental kinds of imagination still farther; and others seem set upon a "return" that will reach back even farther than these contrapuntalists, to vocal patterns which even they were learning to violate.

Harris's comments are often direct and salient, free of that muddy lyricism which exalts the verbalizations dear to the Damrosch school of musical exegesis. KENNETH BURKE

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Drama

Sound and Fury

ALMOST exactly eleven years ago John Howard Lawson got his first New York production when "Roger Bloomer" was revealed to a small, somewhat bewildered public. Heywood Broun, flinging his hat in the fashion recently commended by Arthur Hopkins, began his review something like this: "Last night the Great American Play was torn to bits and its fragments scattered over the stage of the Greenwich Village Theater." What is more, a good many of us shared his enthusiasm. In those days we were inclined to take the dancing star for granted whenever the chaos within was sufficiently demonstrated, and "Processional" (1925) seemed to settle the matter: a great, if not *the* great, American playwright had arrived at last. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Lawson continued merely to bubble and stew. He has become the author of one other interesting play, "Success Story," and the perpetrator of several which deserve to stand pretty near the bottom of any list it would be possible to draw up. Some of us were disposed to be unduly kind to them on the theory that they were still promising, but a promise broken too often ceases to have much value and I, for one, have come to the end of my patience. I am weary of being expected to be very much excited about situations which are never very clearly defined. If Mr. Lawson does not tell us pretty soon what all his shooting is about, it will be time to take away his gun.

The matter would be simpler if it were not for the fact that he still has his moments. Even the worst-disposed spectator at the recent "Pure in Heart" could hardly deny that the scene of the conversation in the pent-house was well written. In similar fashion "Gentlewoman," now being presented by the Group at the Cort Theater, has a rather interesting theme and occasional flashes of both shrewdness and power. But it is hard to understand how anyone as good as Mr. Lawson at his best can possibly be as bad as he is at his worst. In every one of his plays the idea, noisily pursued throughout the evening, seems to elude him at last, and after one has failed quite to understand half a dozen dramas one begins to wonder whether the author quite understood them either. But that is not really the worst. The worst is that one begins to suspect him of laying down a smoke screen to conceal the fact that he has got lost and of being most vehement at the very moment when he is least sure what it is that he is trying to say. It is difficult to believe that anyone of Mr. Lawson's age and experience really wants to write adolescent fustian of the sort he is always breaking into. One cannot even blame on his Hollywood experience the penchant for Elinor Glyn prose, Ella Wilcox poetry, and undergraduate yearnings; he had it before he went to Hollywood. One can therefore only assume that he falls back upon such things when his original intention eludes him, and that he has always found it easier to compose passages of dubious purple than to find the road again.

Apparently "Gentlewoman" is intended to argue that we moderns can find salvation only by identifying ourselves with the revolutionary struggle of the lowly. This thesis is at least as good as the next, and so too is the plan to develop it through a story of the influence of a personable radical upon the life of a spoiled and neurotic woman belonging to the upper class. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Lawson's adolescent romanticism dominates his conception of the characters. The woman—played whiningly by Stella Adler, who is certainly not here at her best—comes straight out of one of those novels which teach nursemaids to pity the broken-hearted aristocracy; the man is

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Tune in—Wednesday, April 11th—8 P. M.

that good old stand-by of cheap fiction, the hero who stays drunk most of the time because the world is not good enough for him. I do not know what the critics of the *New Masses* and the *Daily Worker* will say, but I think that if I were examining this drama from the standpoint of its pertinence to the class struggle and the new culture I should point out with some asperity that Mr. Lawson dodges the issue by making the revolution only a sort of off-stage noise, and that workers are conspicuously absent—unless one is unkind enough to classify the inebriated roughneck as one. The actual substance of the play consists of the neurotic and amorous goings-on indulged in by the hero and the heroine, who at the end merely walk out toward the (red) dawn in the manner consecrated by the fade-out in the movies.

For all I know, Mr. Lawson may be now permanently converted to the religion of revolution. It is possible that a dissatisfaction with the social system was what was wrong with him all along and that his discourses will run clearer now that he has found it out. Nevertheless, I cannot help remembering that his past is a series of discoveries concerning the nature or the cause of his ailment, and that he has always made much the same sort of noise about each. Once, in Roger Bloomer, it was lack of "sensitiveness" in the American soul. Once, in "Processional," it was our failure to penetrate the real meaning of the spirit of jazz. Then, in "Nirvana," it was the need of mystical faith, and now, in "Gentlewoman," it is some sort of economic disorder. The striking fact is, however, that Mr. Lawson was all for sensitiveness in the day when everybody else was for it, and now all for economics when that has become the fashion. I do not doubt his sincerity and I am not accusing him of deliberately hopping on band-wagons. But I am suggesting that he shows a certain tendency to attribute his own private intestinal pains to whatever defect of society happens to be under popular discussion at the moment, and that he is, in a word, much like the medical student who exclaims every time he studies a new disease, "That's what I've got!" His distress is doubtless genuine enough, to him at least. Perhaps it is not too late to hope that he will some day find out what it really is, and that when he does he can tell us about it with reasonable calm and suitable clarity.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Contributors to This Issue

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, the Indian Nationalist leader, has been imprisoned several times for civil disobedience. He is now serving a prison term.

JOHANNES STEEL is the pseudonym of a German Social Democrat now a refugee in the United States. Mr. Steel was for several years economic observer attached to the German Department of Commerce.

JOHN ROTHSCHILD, director of the Open Road, is a professional authority on educational travel in Europe.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN assisted Mme Nijinsky in the preparation of the first half of her husband's biography. He is connected with the School of the American Ballet.

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